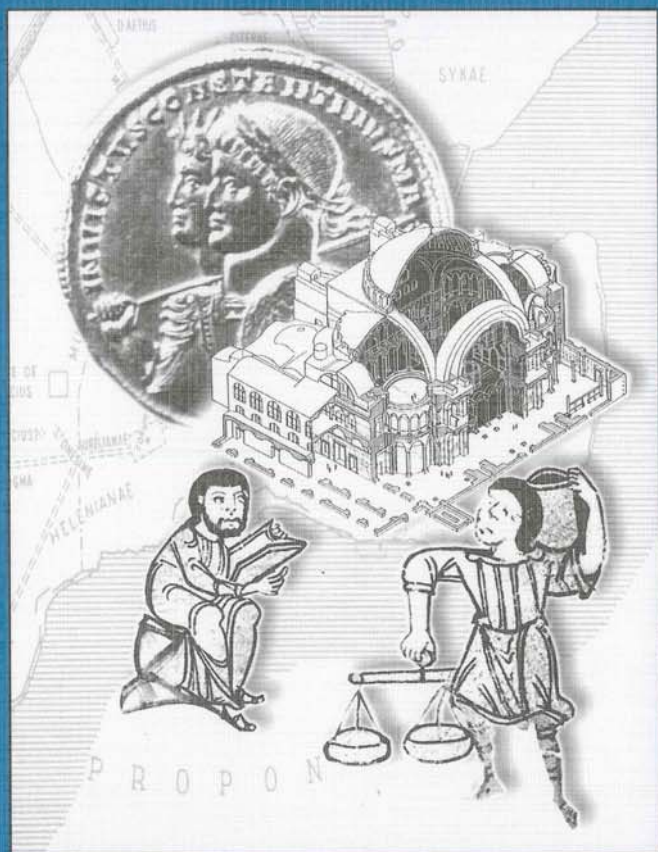


THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN \* BRILL

# Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life

*Edited by Nevra Necipoğlu*



THE MEDIEVAL MEDITERRANEAN \* BRILL

## BYZANTINE CONSTANTINOPLE

THE  
MIEVIAL MIEERRANEAN  
PEOPLES, ECONOMIES AND CULTURES, 400-1453

EDITORS

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VOLUME 33



# BYZANTINE CONSTANTINOPE

*Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life*

EDITED BY

NEVRA NECİPOĞLU



BRILL  
LEIDEN · BOSTON · KÖLN  
2001

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

The cover illustration was designed by Bala Eyüpoğlu.  
Cover design by www.bookman.nl

**Die Deutsche Bibliothek - CIP-Einheitsaufnahme**

Byzantine Constantinople : monuments, topography and everyday life / ed. by  
Nevra Necipoğlu. – Leiden ; Boston ; Köln : Brill, 2001  
(The medieval Mediterranean ; Vol. 33)  
ISBN 90-04-11625-7

**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is also available.

ISSN 0928-5520  
ISBN 90 04 11625 7

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

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## PREFACE

The papers collected in this volume were presented at a workshop devoted to the city of Constantinople, which took place in Istanbul on 7–10 April 1999. The workshop, organized jointly by the History Department of Boğaziçi University and the Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes (IFEA), was the most significant conference on Byzantine Studies to convene in Turkey since 1955, and the first scholarly forum of wide scope on the capital of the Byzantine Empire, attended by a distinguished group of international academics, to be held in Istanbul, the historic site of Constantinople. Taking full advantage of its unique location, the workshop participants undertook excursions to examine monuments and sites that were discussed in a number of papers. Two related special events accompanied the workshop: an exhibition entitled “The Mediterranean’s Purple Millenium—Byzantine Coins from the Yapı Kredi Coin Collection,” and a concert of Byzantine chants performed by Sister Marie Keyrouz and the Ensemble de la Paix, both organized and sponsored by Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık A.Ş.

The present publication, which includes all but two of the papers delivered at the workshop, brings together the work of Turkish Byzantinists with that of Byzantinists from several countries and makes an important contribution to scholarship on Byzantine Constantinople. In terms of chronological scope, the collection covers the entire course of the city’s history from the time of its foundation by Constantine I in 330 to its conquest by Mehmed II in 1453. Within the three main themes of the workshop enumerated in the title of this volume, individual papers address a wide range of topics, including topography, ritual and ideology, archaeology, art and architecture, daily life, economy, communities, urban development and planning. Interdisciplinary approaches, intended to generate fruitful interaction among historians, art historians and archaeologists of the Byzantine Empire, are featured in the collection whose appeal is by no means limited to Byzantinists.

This volume owes a considerable debt to all those who made the workshop possible—the sponsors, the staff assistants, the participants,

and above all the speakers. Special thanks are due to the following institutions and persons:

- Boğaziçi University, and particularly Selçuk Esenbel, Chair of the Department of History, Ayşe Soysal, Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, and Üstün Ergüder, President of the University at the time, for enthusiastically supporting the workshop and making it possible for this institution to act as a pioneer in the field of Byzantine Studies in Turkey.
- The Boğaziçi University Foundation (BÜVAK) for contributing funds and providing free on-campus accommodation for the majority of participants.
- The Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes (IFEA) for meeting the travel costs of the French and several other European participants, and for providing additional premises for accommodation.
- Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık A.Ş. for generously acting as the principal sponsor of the workshop, and especially Münevver Eminoğlu and Zeynep Ögel for their invaluable help in all aspects of the organization of this event.
- The USIS-Istanbul for a travel grant towards the airfare of one American participant.
- The American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) and the Consul General of France, Mr. Eric Lebedel, for providing receptions.
- The Turkish Academy of Sciences (TÜBA) for its moral support.
- Alpay Pasinli, Director General of Monuments and Museums, for guiding the participants on a tour of his excavation at the site of the Great Palace, and for hosting a reception at the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul.
- Nuşin Asgari, Melek Dclilbaşı, Antony Greenwood, Çiğdem Kafescioğlu, Zeynep Mercangöz and Ayla Ödekan for chairing sessions.
- Aslı Akışık, Mevlüde Bakır, Mehmet Beşikçi, Günhan Börekçi, Murat Dağlı, Koray Durak, Esra Güzel Erdoğan, Ayşe Ozil and Ece Turnator, all graduate students of Boğaziçi University History Department, for acting as assistants throughout the workshop; and Selahattin Hakman, above all, for his ready help and support at all the critical stages of organization.
- Bala Eyüpoğlu for the generosity with which she put her creative energy into designing the graphic materials, greatly admired by all who attended the workshop.
- Edhem Eldem, Aslı Özyar and Cemal Kafadar for their help in editing some of the papers in this volume; Yeşim Sayar for providing assistance in technical matters.

Finally, we would like to dedicate this volume, with fond memories and profound sadness, to Nikos Oikonomides, whose untimely death

has left Byzantinists deprived of the scholarly depth, the intellectual riches and the human warmth he brought to the field, which we were able to enjoy and benefit from, once again, on the occasion of his participation in our workshop.

*August 2000*

*Nevra Necipoğlu*  
*Boğaziçi University, Istanbul*  
&  
*Stefanos Yerasimos*  
*Former Director of IFEA*



## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AnBoll	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
BF	<i>Byzantinische Forschungen</i>
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
Byz	<i>Byzantion</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CahArch	<i>Cahiers Archéologiques</i>
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
<i>De cer.</i>	<i>Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae</i> , ed. J. J. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1829–30)
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
Gregoras	<i>Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia</i> , ed. L. Schopen, I. Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1829–55)
Harrison, <i>Saraçhane</i>	R. M. Harrison, <i>Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul</i> , 2 vols. (Princeton-Washington, D.C., 1986)
IAMY	<i>Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı</i>
IstMitt	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
Janin, <i>Églises</i>	R. Janin, <i>La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. I: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat oecuménique</i> , 3: <i>Les églises et les monastères</i> , 2nd ed. (Paris, 1969)
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
Kidonopoulos, <i>Bauten</i>	V. Kidonopoulos, <i>Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204–1328</i> (Wiesbaden, 1994)
Koder, <i>Eparchenbuch</i>	J. Koder, ed., <i>Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen. Einführung, Edition, Übersetzung und Indices</i> , CFHB 33 (Vienna, 1991)
Magdalino, <i>CP médiévale</i>	P. Magdalino, <i>Constantinople médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines</i> (Paris, 1996)
Mango, <i>Développement</i>	C. Mango, <i>Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles)</i> , 2nd ed. (Paris, 1990)

- MM F. Miklosich and J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata Graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. (Vienna, 1860–90)
- Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977)
- NE *Nέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*
- Nik. Chon. *Nicetae Choniatae historia*, ed. J.-L. Van Dieten, 2 vols., CFHB 11/1–2 (Berlin-New York, 1975)
- Notitia CP* *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae*, ed. O. Seeck, *Notitia dignitatum* (Berlin, 1876), pp. 229–43
- OCA Orientalia Christiana Analecta
- OCP *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
- ODB *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. P. Kazhdan et al., 3 vols. (Oxford-New York, 1991)
- Pachym., ed. Bekker *Georgii Pachymeris de Michaelae et Andronico Palaeologis libri tredecim*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn, 1835)
- Pachym., ed. Failler *Georges Pachymères: Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, tr. V. Laurent, CFHB 24/1–2 (Paris, 1984)
- PG *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66)
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844–80)
- PLP *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. E. Trapp et al. (Vienna, 1976–96)
- PLRE *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, ed. J. R. Martindale et al., 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1971–92)
- Preger, *Scriptores* Th. Preger, ed., *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1901–07; repr. New York, 1975)
- REB *Revue des Études Byzantines*
- RHM *Römische historische Mitteilungen*
- Syn. CP *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, ed. H. Delehay, *Propylaeum ad AASS Nov.* (Brussels, 1902)

- Theoph. *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883–85; repr. Hildesheim, 1963)
- TM* *Travaux et Mémoires*
- VV* *Vizantijskij Vremennik*
- ZRVI* *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*





CHAPTER ONE  
INTRODUCTION

Nevra Necipoğlu

. . . sometimes different cities follow one another on the same site and under the same name, born and dying without knowing one another, without communication among themselves. At times even the names of the inhabitants remain the same, and their voices' accent, and also the features of the faces; but the gods who live beneath names and above places have gone off without a word and outsiders have settled in their place. It is pointless to ask whether the new ones are better or worse than the old . . .

Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*

It is tempting to read almost any one of Calvino's "invisible cities" into one's own favorite historical city. Constantinople/Istanbul, with its rich and complex heritage, certainly invites such readings. But this is not merely because the city is there, more or less, as a physical entity, with its monuments and historic sites, with its material environment or topographic features that induce contemplation. One is inclined to think that this spectacular city fascinates its admirers and connoisseurs primarily because so many of those sites and monuments have, through the ages, been endowed with legends and tales, embellished in poems and novels, interpreted in frescoes and miniatures, and investigated by dilettantes and scholars.

Neither Byzantine Constantinople nor Ottoman Istanbul has ever suffered from a lack of scholarly interest. Insofar as the Byzantine city is concerned, the last decade has witnessed, in fact, a resurgence of interest, as revealed by the proliferation of books and international conferences devoted to the subject. Amongst the latter, three outstanding events immediately come to mind: the twenty-seventh Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies on "Constantinople and its Hinterland" held in 1993 at the University of Oxford, the 1994 Princeton University Conference on "Merchants and the Fall of Constantinople," and more recently the 1998 Dumbarton Oaks

Symposium entitled “Constantinople: The Fabric of the City.”<sup>1</sup> All the same, it was astonishing that Istanbul thus far had not hosted a comparable event, even though on account of its unique position as the former seat of the Byzantine imperial capital this city should have been predestined to become one of the world’s major centers for Byzantine studies, playing a leading role especially in the field of scholarship on Constantinople. Hence, guided by this awareness, in April 1999 the History Department of Boğaziçi University and the Institut Français d’Études Anatoliennes jointly organized the Workshop on “Byzantine Constantinople: Monuments, Topography and Everyday Life,” out of which the present volume has grown. Besides being the first comprehensive international conference on Constantinople to take place in Istanbul, the 1999 Workshop was only the second major international gathering in Turkey devoted to the general field of Byzantine studies since 1955—an infelicitous year, indeed, for the Tenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies which met in Istanbul on the days of 15–21 September.<sup>2</sup> The sessions of the Workshop were appropriately convened at the former Alexander Van Millingen Library of Boğaziçi University, named after one of the pioneering scholars of Byzantine Constantinople who taught at this institution for many years back in the days when it was known as Robert College.<sup>3</sup>

The particular attitude that has impeded the development of Byzantine studies in Turkey (and of Ottoman studies in Greece, for that matter) is not necessarily a deep-rooted, historical phenomenon that bore its stamp on the mental or ideological outlook of the pre-modern era. Quite a different attitude is displayed, for instance, by Hilmî, an early seventeenth-century author in Ottoman Istanbul, who wrote a book of moralistic tales dedicated to sultan Osman II (r. 1618–1622). One of the chapters in this book deals with the story of “Konstantin,” a mythical Byzantine ruler, “with his throne in

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<sup>1</sup> For the proceedings of the first, see C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds., *Constantinople and its Hinterland* (Aldershot, 1995); selected papers from the latter will be published in a forthcoming volume of *DOP*.

<sup>2</sup> For the proceedings of this poorly attended Congress that took place just shortly after the riots of 6–7 September 1955 in Istanbul, see *X. Milletlerarası Bizans Tetkikleri Kongresi Tebliğleri/Actes du X. Congrès International des Études Byzantines* (Istanbul, 1957).

<sup>3</sup> On this, see most recently J. Freely, *A History of Robert College* (Istanbul, 2000). Van Millingen’s two books, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and the Adjoining Historical Sites* (London, 1899) and *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London, 1912), are still of value.

Istanbul.” From Hilmî’s viewpoint, shared presumably by his readers at the Ottoman court too, the fact that Konstantin and his people live in infidelity does not undermine the further fact that his realm is blessed with justice and equity. Stunningly handsome and always elegant, Konstantin dreams of eternal life. Upon hearing that the king of Algiers, over one hundred years old, might know the secret, he sends an ambassador to North Africa to inquire. The Algerian ruler arrests the Byzantine ambassador and keeps him chained to an immense tree overflowing with leaves. The poor envoy remains like this for a long time, sighing and cursing the injustice incurred on him. The tree eventually dries up, and the disheveled ambassador is brought back to the king of Algiers, who makes the point that no worldly glory can be long-lasting for a ruler if the people are suffering from tyranny; trees will dry up, cities fall, animals become unable to reproduce. Justice, on the other hand, will make things flourish. When the envoy returns to Constantinople and relates his tale of woe, Konstantin learns his lesson and realizes that he already possesses the most essential gift in life. He vows to focus henceforth on maintaining justice in his realm.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps banal in terms of its moral lesson even for the seventeenth century, the story told by Hilmî is a remarkable one for a modern reader who knows something about the image of Byzantium and the state of Byzantine studies in contemporary Turkey. It was also in the seventeenth century that at least two Ottoman intellectuals, and both of them renowned in their lifetime and later, ventured to write histories of the Roman Empire, including the Eastern Empire, with materials translated from Greek and Latin sources by their friends and associates among Ottoman Christians.<sup>5</sup> Like the story of the mythical Konstantin, these histories are remarkably neutral, bearing no trace of a categorical rejection or enmity vis-à-vis the rulers of Byzantium before the Ottomans. In other words, the attitudes of active and selective neglect or hostility manifested in contemporary studies pertaining to the histories of others are distinctively modern attitudes. They have more to do with modern ideologies of nationalism and nation-state-fetishism than with historical precedents.<sup>6</sup>

Contrary to objections raised among particular circles in modern

<sup>4</sup> Hilmî, *Bahrü'l-Kemâl (Transkribe Metin)*, ed. C. Okuyucu (Kayseri, 1995), 99–140.

<sup>5</sup> Kâtip Çelebi (1609–1657), *Revnaku's-Saltanat*; Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi (d. 1691), *Târih-i Devlet-i Rûmîye*.

<sup>6</sup> For late Ottoman attitudes towards Byzantium, see M. Ursinus, “Byzantine

times, the city that constitutes the subject matter of this volume is, after all, one and the same: Byzantion—Konstantinoupolis—Kostantiniyye—Istanbul, to name only its most common appellations throughout the long course of its multi-layered history. And whether one studies Byzantion, Constantinople, or Istanbul, it is indispensable that one should ultimately become familiar with and try to understand the city in all its successive phases. Thus, anyone who studies Istanbul knows well that he/she would need to start by investigating Byzantion and/or Constantinople, as Doğan Kuban has done in a recent book.<sup>7</sup> Likewise, it would advantage anyone who studies Constantinople to take into account Ottoman, and even modern, Istanbul in his/her inquiry, given that these cities shared the same geography and that post-Byzantine sources as well as present sites may provide additional insights that can effectively improve one's knowledge of the Byzantine city.

As pointed out already, Constantinople has been the subject of several specialized studies in recent years, which have done much to deepen our understanding of the city. Compared to earlier works on the Byzantine capital, these studies reflect certain new trends and approaches that are also captured—selectively, as the topics invite one or another—by the essays in this volume. Among recent trends, a notable tendency has been the shift away from the static perspective that once dominated the field towards a concern with the urban development of Constantinople, as revealed by the title of Cyril Mango's excellent monograph, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople*, focusing on the early centuries of the imperial capital.<sup>8</sup> Thus, the question of "how Constantinople developed as a city" has to a

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History in Late Ottoman Turkish Historiography," *BMGS* 10 (1986), 211–22; idem, "Der schlechteste Staat: Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1844–1913) on Byzantine Institutions," *BMGS* 11 (1987), 237–43; idem, "From Süleyman Pasha to Mehmet Fuat Köprülü: Roman and Byzantine History in Late Ottoman Historiography," *BMGS* 12 (1988), 305–14. For a brief overview of the state of Byzantine historical studies in Turkey today, see N. Necipoğlu, "The Current State and Future Direction of Byzantine History in Turkey," in *Aptullah Kuran İçin Yazılar/Essays in Honour of Aptullah Kuran*, eds. Ç. Kafescioğlu and L. Thys-Şenocak (Istanbul, 1999), 37–41.

<sup>7</sup> D. Kuban, *Istanbul. An Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinople, Istanbul* (Istanbul, 1996).

<sup>8</sup> Mango, *Développement*; see also idem, "The Development of Constantinople as an Urban Centre," in *The 17th International Byzantine Congress. Main Papers* (New Rochelle, N.Y., 1986), 117–36 [repr. in C. Mango, *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot, 1993), no. I]. The question of how Constantinople was transformed into a medieval city after the 7th century is further addressed by R. Ousterhout, "Building Medieval Constantinople," in *Proceedings of the PMR Conference*, vol. 19–20 (1994–96), Villanova University, 35–67.

large extent superseded the centuries-old concern with topography, a tradition going back to Pierre Gilles (Petrus Gyllius) and Charles Du Cange, who pioneered the scholarly study of Byzantine Constantinople in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, respectively.<sup>9</sup> This, of course, is neither to deny the fundamental value of topography, nor to disclaim the fact that very important topographic research continues to be conducted in our day.<sup>10</sup> Yet a parallel shift can be observed in the study of topography, too, wherein the traditional approach regarding the city as a fixed locus with certain buildings at certain sites has now given way to a new kind of historical approach that views topographic elements in the context of their changes and development through time.

Another noteworthy trend in the field has been the turn towards the study of urban structures and their evolution, as illustrated brilliantly by Paul Magdalino's 1996 book on medieval Constantinople, which extends in chronological scope into the twelfth century.<sup>11</sup> This book, as well as C. Mango's aforementioned book, have contributed moreover, each in its own way, to the old but still ongoing debate about the extent of continuity and change between late antique and medieval Constantinople. In the context of this debate, as respective exemplars of the two general trends noted above, the earlier book by Mango tends to bring into focus the changes that the city underwent through the centuries, whereas that by Magdalino insists rather on the *longue durée* and the permanence of certain structures inherited from Late Antiquity, and by so doing lays greater emphasis on elements of continuity, without, however, altogether dismissing the notion of urban transformation and the evolution of urban structures within the long-term perspective.

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<sup>9</sup> *Petri Gyllii de topographia Constantinopoleos et de illius antiquitatibus libri quatuor* (Lyons, 1561–1562); *Petri Gyllii de Bosphoro thracio libri III* (Lyons, 1561); Charles Du Cange, *Constantinopolis christiana, seu descriptio urbis Constantinopolitanae* (Paris, 1680). For modern scholarship on the topography of Constantinople, see the bibliographic note in G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Washington, D.C., 1984), 437–40.

<sup>10</sup> E.g., see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*; A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Bonn, 1988) and numerous articles by the same author; as well as the papers in Section One of the present volume. Note also P. Magdalino, "Constantinopolitana," and P. Schreiner, "Die topographische Notiz über Konstantinopel in der Pariser Suda-Handschrift: Eine Neuinterpretation," in *AETOE. Studies in honour of Cyril Mango*, eds. I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1998), 220–32, 273–83.

<sup>11</sup> Magdalino, *CP médiévale*.

Individual monuments, their reconstruction, interpretation, and re-interpretation based on material as well as textual evidence continue to occupy the architectural historians of Byzantine Constantinople.<sup>12</sup> Thus, in the realm of architecture, in addition to works that are mainly concerned with problems of form and structure, we find ones that use a semiotic approach to decipher the symbolic meaning and ideological message conveyed by particular buildings in the city. An alternative approach to the study of monuments from the perspective of their builders is featured in a new book on Byzantine masons that deals, if not exclusively, extensively with Constantinopolitan architecture.<sup>13</sup> Alongside studies of major public buildings, it is to be noted that domestic architecture is now attracting more and more the attention of scholars. Patronage of architecture and art is another theme that is currently popular. Finally, a recent book on construction and restoration activity in Constantinople during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries has duly focused attention on the late Byzantine city, the study of which lags considerably behind that of early and middle Byzantine Constantinople.<sup>14</sup>

When we turn to archaeology, perhaps the one field where the greatest potential exists for the advancement of our present state of knowledge on the monuments and topography of Constantinople, progress has been relatively slow compared to archaeological work being conducted by Byzantinists elsewhere in Turkey. Due principally to the technical difficulties of excavating in a modern metropolis like Istanbul, archaeological discoveries have been few, haphazard, and limited mostly to chance findings.<sup>15</sup> Among notable exceptions, however, one ought to mention the recent excavation of the sub-structures of the Great Palace, under the direction of Alpay Pasinli, which the workshop participants had the opportunity to examine and discuss extensively during a special on-site session led by Dr. Pasinli himself.

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<sup>12</sup> E.g., see the recent publications on two of Istanbul's major Byzantine monuments: R. Mark and A. Ş. Çakmak, eds., *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present* (Cambridge-New York, 1992); C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, eds., *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, their History, Architecture, and Decoration* (Mainz, 1997).

<sup>13</sup> R. G. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999).

<sup>14</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*.

<sup>15</sup> This last point is amply demonstrated by the contribution of M. İ. Tunay to this volume.

At a very different level of interpretation, we find studies that deal not with the “real” but with the imaginary Constantinople, studies highlighting the myths and legends surrounding the city, its monuments, and its people. I am thinking in particular of Gilbert Dagron’s *Constantinople imaginaire*, published in 1984, which is considerably different from the same author’s monumental book of ten years earlier on the genesis of the Byzantine capital and its institutions, in terms of chronological scope, method, as well as source material.<sup>16</sup>

It is also a welcome development that the spiritual heritage of Byzantium is now being investigated by art historians through the cult objects stored among the little explored treasures of the Topkapı Palace in Istanbul, as demonstrated by Ioli Kalavrezou’s recent article on the relic of the arm of St. John the Baptist. This article, which appeared in a volume devoted to Byzantine court culture, reveals furthermore the ongoing interest of scholars in the imperial palace and in courtly life at Constantinople.<sup>17</sup>

As for studies on the economic and social history of Constantinople, another subject that is both old and new, it may be observed that such topics as trade, exchange, investment, social relations, and aspects of daily life have lately been investigated by some scholars from the perspective of a gendered approach, taking into account gender relations and the role of women.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, the provisioning of the city, the organization and activities of artisans and traders, as well as the expansion of foreigners in its commercial economy continue to attract the attention of social and economic historians.<sup>19</sup> With respect to the

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<sup>16</sup> G. Dagron, *Naissance d’une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Paris, 1974); idem, *Constantinople imaginaire. Études sur le recueil des “Patria”* (Paris, 1984). For a study of the Ottoman legends concerning the foundation of Constantinople and of St. Sophia, see S. Yerasimos, *La fondation de Constantinople et de Sainte-Sophie dans les traditions turques* (Paris, 1990).

<sup>17</sup> I. Kalavrezou, “Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court,” in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), 53–79. The rod of Moses, another important relic at the Byzantine court also conserved in the Topkapı Palace Museum, was the subject of I. Kalavrezou’s contribution to the Workshop; regrettably, her paper could not be received in time for publication in the present volume.

<sup>18</sup> For two relevant examples featured in this volume, see the contributions by A. E. Laiou and A.-M. Talbot below.

<sup>19</sup> These topics have been given coverage in a recent French publication on the city focusing on the period from 1054 to 1261: see A. Ducellier and M. Balard, eds., *Constantinople 1054–1261. Tête de la chrétienté, proie des Latins, capitale grecque* (Paris, 1996), 86–135, 184–201 (articles by M. Kaplan, N. Oikonomides, M. Balard). On



city's ethnic composition, too, progress has been achieved through further investigations of the internal organization, socio-economic position, and interrelations of diverse ethno-religious communities within the urban population (e.g., Jews, Armenians, Muslims, Latins, etc.), as well as the degree and mechanisms of their integration, or assimilation, into Constantinopolitan society.<sup>20</sup> Finally, hagiographical sources, which have long been used in a more or less random or selective fashion, are now being systematically exploited for the invaluable data they embody on daily life, material culture, and other aspects of the social and economic history of the imperial capital.<sup>21</sup>

This brief sketch of key trends and approaches featured in recent scholarship on Byzantine Constantinople does not claim to be all-inclusive. It certainly has not touched on new treatments of several significant topics, such as the city's relations with its hinterland (which was given full coverage at the aforementioned Oxford Symposium of 1993), its administrative structure, political institutions, or diplomatic exchanges with foreign courts, its religious history including its role as a pilgrimage center, questions of infrastructure, its image in the eyes of foreigners, and, most importantly, its intellectual and cultural life. Nonetheless, two general observations can be readily made. First, a comprehensive work of synthesis has not yet been written on Constantinople and remains very much of a desideratum. Second, despite the existence of important studies on various aspects of Constantinople, there are still considerable gaps in our knowledge of the city, especially as regards certain topographic details, a num-

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provisioning, see also Mango and Dagron, *CP and its Hinterland*, 9–73 (articles by C. Mango, J. Durliat, P. Magdalino, J. Koder, G. Dagron). On traders and bankers in late Byzantine Constantinople, besides numerous articles by A. E. Laiou, K.-P. Matschke, and N. Oikonomides, the fundamental monograph is the latter's *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Montreal-Paris, 1979).

<sup>20</sup> For recent observations on the Armenian and Muslim communities of Constantinople, as well as a general discussion of the mechanisms of integration applied to various ethnic groups in the Empire, see *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, eds. H. Ahrweiler and A. E. Laiou (Washington, D.C., 1998), 58 ff., 125–50, 161–81 (articles by N. G. Garsoïan, S. W. Reinert, A. E. Laiou). On the Jews of Constantinople, besides the recent summary essay by D. Jacoby in Ducellier and Balard, *Constantinople*, 171–83, see idem, “The Jewish Community of Constantinople from the Komnenian to the Palaiologan Period,” *VV* 55/2 (1998). Concerning the Italians, M. Balard and D. Jacoby in particular continue to investigate, respectively, the Genoese and Venetian colonies in Constantinople.

<sup>21</sup> Noteworthy in this context is the completion recently of the Dumbarton Oaks Hagiography Database Project, which now provides easy access to all kinds of realia contained in the Byzantine saints' lives of the 8th–10th centuries.

ber of no longer extant monuments and artworks, patterns of residence and questions related to housing in general, several additional features of everyday life and social organization, development of urban structures in the Palaiologan city, along with numerous other traits of the late Byzantine period. The papers gathered together in this volume aim to fill some of these gaps, seek answers to a series of questions that have so far not been asked or properly answered, and enable us to grasp much better the urban world of Constantinople in all its complexity during the eleven centuries of its existence as the capital of the Byzantine Empire. As will be evident in the chapters that follow, there is still a lot to be learned from previously unexplored archaeological evidence, as well as from newly discovered or so far inadequately exploited textual evidence. The major portion of the contributions will confirm, on the other hand, how much can be accomplished by new insights to be gained from fresh interpretations of old evidence, both written and material.

Organized thematically into eight sections, the studies collected here, thus, reflect many of the general trends reviewed above, but also break new ground and point the way to further information. In the first section devoted to particular topographic problems, Cyril Mango's opening paper (Chapter Two) sets out to reconstruct the original shoreline of the Constantinian city, prior to its alteration through progressive infilling of large tracts of the surrounding sea, and concludes with a discussion of the implications of the proposed coastline in terms of the early maritime walls and the initial positioning of the Mese. The paper hence provides a suggestive framework within which to consider how the builders of Constantinople adapted the landscape and urban artifacts to each other, and how the city's geographical setting defined the course of its urban development. The role played by the colonnaded or porticoed street at Constantinople, a characteristic feature of the new capital on the Bosphoros without parallel at Rome, is the subject of the following contribution by Marlia Mundell Mango (Chapter Three). Reviewing the available written and archaeological evidence, and drawing also upon comparative data from other cities of the Empire in the east, she discusses the extent, location, configuration, component parts, and uses of the porticoed street in early Byzantine Constantinople, and inquires whether or not it survived in the middle and late Byzantine city. In a meticulously researched study that pieces together scattered bits of textual evidence and prosopographic information, Paul Magdalino

(Chapter Four) tries to locate five mansions belonging to women of the Theodosian family in the tenth and eleventh regions of Constantinople and investigates their subsequent fate. In doing so, he broadens our knowledge not only of topography and patterns of aristocratic residence, but also of the role of imperial women in the configuration of fifth-century Constantinople.

In the next section devoted to imperial and ecclesiastical ceremonies,<sup>22</sup> Albrecht Berger (Chapter Five) highlights the interrelationship between ceremonial and topography, by tracing the routes followed and the monuments visited by public processions through Constantinople. He sets forth how the space of the city was conceived and defined in public rituals, noting major changes in itinerary and protocol that occurred from the late eleventh century onwards, due primarily to the move of the imperial residence from the Great Palace to the Blachernai. Engin Akyürek (Chapter Six) addresses the subject of death rituals in late Byzantine Constantinople, in his paper eliciting the funerary ceremonies that were performed at the parekklesion of the Chora monastery. He interprets these ceremonies in the light of the iconographic program of the frescoes situated inside the parekklesion, using a method that correlates the building's decoration and its function as a mortuary chapel.

The three papers that follow deal with particular problems related to the study of the religious monuments of Constantinople.<sup>23</sup> In the light of the archaeological explorations conducted at Kalenderhane throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Cecil L. Striker (Chapter Seven) raises general questions about method and approach in the field of Byzantine architectural history. Drawing special attention to the shortcomings of the prevailing linear conception of the evolution of building types and forms in Byzantium, borrowed in large part from the study of western medieval architecture, he calls for a revision of the established historical and methodological premises underlying the study of Byzantine architecture. Metin and Zeynep Ahunbay (Chapter Eight) present the results of the restoration work carried out at the Zeyrek

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<sup>22</sup> For a paper relevant to the theme of this section which was presented at the Workshop but does not appear here, see note 17 above.

<sup>23</sup> Missing from this section is Jonathan Bardill's stimulating contribution to the Workshop, proposing an innovative solution to the problem of the reconstruction of the interior of St. Polyuktos, which the author regrettably deemed not ready for immediate publication.

Camii during the 1997–98 season, which was focused on the roof level of the building and disclosed new information pertaining to its construction history all through its successive Byzantine, Ottoman and modern phases. In another paper concerned with the same monument, Robert Ousterhout (Chapter Nine) delves into the meaning of the Pantokrator monastery and its interior decoration to its twelfth-century audience in Constantinople. He interprets the rich and multi-layered message of the Komnenian monument through an analysis of the unique iconography of its surviving *opus sectile* floor.

In the subsequent section focused primarily on secular monuments of the imperial capital and their legacy, Henry Maguire (Chapter Ten) reconstructs the now lost medieval pavements of the Great Palace that were laid down between the seventh and ninth centuries, with the aid of literary descriptions and comparative material drawn from surviving floors elsewhere in and outside of Constantinople. Yıldız Ötügen (Chapter Eleven) sketches an interesting portrait of the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos, based on the evidence and implications of the building projects he commissioned in Constantinople and elsewhere. In a comparative study, Sema Alpaslan (Chapter Twelve) addresses the question of the influence of Constantinopolitan art forms in the provinces, by examining architectural sculpture in the capital and in Byzantine Anatolia. Finally, Peter Schreiner (Chapter Thirteen) brings to light a previously unnoticed collection of texts copied by John Malaxos in the sixteenth century, which, in combination with the contents of other known manuscripts written by the same author, presents an image of Byzantine Constantinople through the eyes of a Greek inhabitant of Ottoman Istanbul, revealing how Malaxos and his circle perceived the urban world in which their predecessors had lived.

The fifth section devoted to new archaeological evidence comprises a single paper by Mehmet İ. Tunay (Chapter Fourteen), who reviews a large sample of new Byzantine material brought to light mostly by restoration projects and building activity in Istanbul during the past decade. This richly illustrated survey makes accessible important yet on the whole relatively little known archaeological findings of recent date, some of which are not even extant any longer, partly due to neglect shown in general to the city's Byzantine remains, and partly due to practical problems of preservation posed by the crowded environment of a modern metropolis. Thus, indirectly, the paper demonstrates how crucial it is to have a team of Byzantinists in

Istanbul engaged in the urgent task of tracking down and systematically recording, both in drawing and by means of photographic documentation, all the new archaeological data that turn up in the city aside from official excavations, as these are most likely to get covered over and perish forever.

The next group of papers concentrate on economic life at Constantinople, highlighting various aspects of the city's role as a commercial and manufacturing center through the ages. Nicolas Oikonomides (Chapter Fifteen) sets out to resolve certain controversial issues with regard to the *kommerkiarios* of Constantinople and sheds further light on his role particularly in silk trade during the seventh and eighth centuries. Michel Kaplan (Chapter Sixteen) examines the organization of labor in the middle Byzantine city, looking into the role of artisans in Constantinopolitan society from the seventh to the eleventh century. Angeliki E. Laiou (Chapter Seventeen) explores the role of women in the marketplace and commercial economy of the imperial capital between the tenth and fourteenth centuries.

The Latin community of Constantinople subsequent to the Fourth Crusade is the topic reserved for the following section, where David Jacoby (Chapter Eighteen) investigates the urban evolution of the city under the Latin Empire (1204–1261) and suggests, on the basis of western documentary sources largely overlooked until now, that the extent of urban decline and disruption during this period was not as bad as the literary sources would have us believe. Michel Balard (Chapter Nineteen) undertakes a challenging analysis of the Genoese colony of Pera in the context of the phenomenon of acculturation and assimilation. Using as evidence the experiences of two new “colonial” families that rose to prominence in Pera in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, he draws general conclusions about the gradual “orientalization” of the Genoese of Pera following their settlement in a predominantly Greek milieu, which, in turn, helps explain their rapid adaptation to the new Ottoman regime after 1453.

Finally, in yet another section devoted to late Byzantine Constantinople, particular aspects of building activity during the last centuries preceding the city's collapse before the Ottomans are considered. Venturing into virtually unexplored territory, Klaus-Peter Matschke (Chapter Twenty) illuminates the construction sector in Palaiologan Constantinople, where building activity remained quite lively and builders evidently continued to make up one of the largest groups of artisans. He supplies information on a wide range of relevant subjects, including the nature, organization and supervision of building

projects, the internal hierarchy and specialization of construction workers, their social standing in late Byzantine society, forms of state control over builders and their appointment, procurement of building materials, and mobilization of workers for big construction projects. Alice-Mary Talbot (Chapter Twenty-One) takes a close look at female monastic patronage during the reign of Andronikos II (r. 1282–1328) and presents a collective portrait indicating the social backgrounds, marital status, and motivations of about ten women who founded or restored religious establishments in Constantinople at this time.

The volume ends with the concluding remarks delivered at the closing of the Workshop by Ihor Ševčenko (Chapter Twenty-Two), who evaluates the overall success of the meeting by grouping the individual contributions according to their typological features under eight general categories that serve as a means for appraisal, and then proceeds to comment on future prospects for the study of Byzantium in Turkey.

On a final note, it is worth calling attention to yet another important theme, one that was not directly addressed by any of the panel sessions of the Workshop, but was touched on at any rate in various papers, discussions, and the concluding remarks; namely, the theme of continuity and change between Byzantine Constantinople and Ottoman Istanbul. This is a subject that has yet to be investigated thoroughly and objectively, through an exhaustive study of all the sources available on the Byzantine and Ottoman sides. In order to accomplish this major task, however, the sharp divide that has traditionally kept Byzantine and Ottoman studies apart must first be eliminated. The advantages to be gained from a greater interaction and cooperation between these two disciplines are quite obvious and need not be enumerated here; suffice it to point out that they will by no means be limited only to the last topic brought up above. As C. Mango noted in 1992 with reference to the field of scholarship on Byzantine Constantinople at large, “we have nearly reached the limit of what can be learnt [from topography and textual evidence]. Any further addition to our knowledge will come from other quarters, namely either archaeological discovery or the study of Ottoman sources, which have as yet been little exploited for the light they may shed on Byzantine monuments and topography.”<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Mango, *Studies on CP*, Preface, x.

While the quest to re-create Byzantine Constantinople will no doubt continue, it is hoped that the essays offered in this volume, which make no claim of presenting a comprehensive history of the city, will collectively help capture the physical and social environment in which Constantinopolitans lived and illustrate the constant interplay between the architectural and topographic setting of the city, its socio-economic, political and religious structures, and the historical developments.

SECTION ONE  
THE TOPOGRAPHY OF EARLY BYZANTINE  
CONSTANTINOPLE





CHAPTER TWO  
THE SHORELINE OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE  
FOURTH CENTURY

Cyril Mango

I should like to re-open an old problem—one that has been on the table or rather in a bottom drawer since the sixteenth century. It is admitted on all sides that the shoreline of historic Istanbul as well as that of Galata and surrounding areas has been gradually creeping forward. In the 1950s the construction of the Marmara coastal highway (Sahil Yolu) gained on the sea a strip of 60 meters and, in places, much more. In 1760, to take another example, a new quarter, Yenimahalle, grew up as the result of the dumping of huge quantities of earth when the Laleli mosque was built on a new artificial terrace. The old Byzantine harbors on both the Marmara and Golden Horn sides have been filled. Indeed, the process has been continuous since the fourth century and the only question is: How much land has been gained? The prevailing view is minimalist: on the maps appended to Janin's standard books the Byzantine city is defined by the maritime walls, only the filled harbors being marked "terrain gagné sur la mer." The same applies to Wolfram Kleiss' useful archaeological map.<sup>1</sup>

Yet the ancient texts paint a very different picture, and these texts have been known a long time. Dionysius, who probably lived in the second century A.D. and was a native, wrote that the city of Byzantion was situated on a peninsula connected to the mainland by an isthmus or neck. The width of this isthmus, he says, was 5 stades (ca. 900 m), whilst the circuit of the peninsula itself was 35 stades (ca. 6.3 km). He also describes the isthmus as being relatively flat, with a gentle slope towards the sea.<sup>2</sup> Other early texts are less precise,

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<sup>1</sup> *Topographisch-archäologischer Plan von Istanbul* (Tübingen, 1965).

<sup>2</sup> *Anaplys Bosphori*, 6, 12, ed. R. Güngerich (Berlin, 1927), pp. 3, 5. Not surprisingly, Dionysius' figures have caused difficulty to commentators. Cf., e.g., Kubitschek, art. "Byzantion," in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa, III/1 (Stuttgart, 1899), 1119.

but tend to confirm the statements of Dionysius. Zosimus, active in ca. 500 A.D., affirms that Constantine enclosed his city with a wall which included the isthmus and, more significantly, that “no small part of the surrounding sea was turned into dry land by planting piles all round and building on top of them, enough to make up in itself a big city.”<sup>3</sup> A rhetorical exaggeration, perhaps, but one that would have been pointless unless a very considerable area had been filled in. This was probably done by one of Constantine’s immediate successors rather than by Constantine himself as may be deduced from a piece of evidence that has not been exploited. But, first, I must open a parenthesis.

Gregory of Nazianzus preached his Oration 33 at Constantinople, most probably in the year 379 so as to defend himself against accusations circulated by his Arian opponents. It may be remembered that the local Church had been for several decades in the hands of Arians who enjoyed the active support of the emperors Constantius II (r. 337–361) and especially Valens (r. 364–378), whereas the “orthodox” (Nicones) found themselves outnumbered and were denied places of congregation. The death of Valens at the battle of Adrianople (378) did not immediately change the situation: it was only after Theodosius I had entered Constantinople (24 November 380) that the Arians were driven out. Now, the accusations made against Gregory were, it seems, that he had come uninvited from an obscure provincial town and represented a tiny flock, whereas the Arians were not only numerous, but also took credit for the splendor of the new capital—it was they who could point proudly to “walls, theatres, circuses, imperial palaces, porticoes of great beauty and size and that incredible work, namely the river that is both underground and suspended in the air,” the last referring to the system of aqueducts that had, indeed, been completed by Valens. Are we to be sacrificed, asks Gregory, because we have not erected this city, surrounded it with walls, etc.? And then follows the sentence: Θάλασσαν δὲ οὐπω περιερρήξαμεν οὐδὲ τὰς ὥρας ἐκερασάμεθα—ὃ σὺ δηλαδὴ πεποίηκας, ὁ νέος δημιουργός—, ἵν’ ὡς ἥδιστα τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀσφαλίστατα βιοτεύοιμεν, i.e. “We have not yet encroached on the sea all round,<sup>4</sup> nor have we mingled the seasons—something that you, the new

<sup>3</sup> *Historia nova*, II.30.2, II.35. I have briefly reviewed this evidence in my *Développement*, 16–8.

<sup>4</sup> Literally, *perierrēgnumi* means “to break off all round” or to cause a body of water to divide round a piece of land.

Creator, have evidently done—so that we may live both most pleasantly and safely.”<sup>5</sup>

What exactly does the above sentence mean? The recent French translation by P. Gallyay (“brisé la mer pour l’étendre tout autour de nous”) is not particularly clear, while the suggestion that the “mingling” of the seasons refers to the temperate climate of Constantinople is certainly wrong.<sup>6</sup> Gregory is here speaking with some irony not of a feature of the local climate, but of public works so great as to elevate their author to the rank of a cosmic demiurge. An early scholiast comes to our rescue: he glosses the verb *perierrēxamen* with the explanation, “i.e. by means of houses upon the sea, for one may observe at Byzantion as also at Alexandria and Caesarea of Palestine the sea turned into dry land.”<sup>7</sup> As for the “mingling” or “blending” of the seasons, it probably refers to the installation of an artificial harbor that gave protection against seasonal winds and storms, hence the mention of safety. The implication of Gregory’s rhetorical passage is that land reclamation had taken place on a large scale during a period of Arian supremacy, perhaps under Valens, in any case after Constantine. It may still have been going on in 379.

As far as I am aware, Byzantine texts provide no details about the extent and location of the areas affected. The only specific reference I recall concerns a limited measure taken in the second half of the fifth century with regard to the church of St. Irene at Perama, i.e. roughly in the Balıkpazarı/Zindankapısı area. When he rebuilt it, the *oikonomos* Marcian (died ca. 475) “pushed back” the sea, which previously had reached to what was to be the middle of the new church.<sup>8</sup>

The isthmus mentioned in the texts can only be placed in the valley between the third and fourth hills that is spanned by the aqueduct of Valens, as already conjectured by the excellent Dr. John Covel in 1673.<sup>9</sup> It may be recalled in this connection that the piers of the aqueduct are today sunk in the ground to a depth of 6.5 meters above their original footing,<sup>10</sup> which means that the accumulation of

<sup>5</sup> *Or.* 33.7, *PG* 36, 224.

<sup>6</sup> Grégoire de Nazianze, *Discours 32–37*, Sources chrétiennes 318 (Paris, 1985), 172.

<sup>7</sup> Th. Sinko, *De traditione orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni*, II (Cracow, 1923), 10.

<sup>8</sup> *Vita Marciani*, ed. M. Gedeon, *Byzantinon heortologion* (Constantinople, 1899), 275. On this document see now R. Snee, “Gregory Nazianzen’s Anastasia Church: Arianism, the Goths, and Hagiography,” *DOP* 52 (1998), 164 ff., whose dating of it to the late 5th century appears to me too optimistic.

<sup>9</sup> British Library, Add. MS 22912, fols. 109<sup>v</sup>–110 with sketch.

<sup>10</sup> R. M. Harrison, “A Note on the Valens Aqueduct,” *IAMY* 13–14 (1966), 219.

earth since the fourth century must be even greater downhill. Now, if we postulate a deep bay on either side, as shown in Figure 1, the 35 stades given by Dionysius for the circumference of the peninsula begin to make sense—a peninsula that was occupied only in part by ancient Byzantion.

The south bay, into which emptied the stream Lycus (Bayrampaşa Deresi) must have been fairly shallow, the north one, I imagine, a little deeper. The construction of Constantinople under Constantine and his successors must have necessitated the displacement of many thousands of tons of earth as avenues were laid out and sites flattened to be occupied by monuments. A memory of this operation survives in a *Life* of Constantine, the one published by Guidi, which alleges that the emperor “cleared the groves [on the site] and brought down to a lower level, as far as that was possible, places that were elevated.”<sup>11</sup> The easiest thing to do with the displaced earth was to dump it in the bays, as also happened in connection with the building of the Laleli mosque in 1760. On that occasion, too, piles were driven into the marshy ground to support housing, the operation being described by the term *kazıklama*.<sup>12</sup>

I imagine that measures would have been taken at the same time to channel or vault over the lower end of the stream Lycus, otherwise the filled area would quickly have turned into a swamp. The Lycus, today totally invisible, is shown on nineteenth-century maps as going underground a short distance west of the Fenari İsa mosque,<sup>13</sup> but I do not know if that represents a Byzantine or a later arrangement. We hear very little about it in Byzantine sources, although it may be inferred that part of it did flow underground.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> M. Guidi, “Un Bios di Costantino,” *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. 5, vol. 16 (1907), 336.

<sup>12</sup> A. Komnenos Hypselantes, *Ta meta tēn Halōsin* (Constantinople, 1870; repr. Athens, 1972), 385.

<sup>13</sup> So on the map of A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and the Adjoining Historical Sites* (London, 1899), facing p. 19. On the Kauffer—Lechevalier map (1786) the course of the Lycus is shown (mistakenly?) all the way to the Marmara, crossed by three bridges within the Land Walls. It still appears as Yenibahçe Deresi in the 1934 gazetteer (*Istanbul şehri rehberi*), map 7, between Sulukule and a transverse street called Arpa Emini Köprü Sokak.

<sup>14</sup> Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 286–7. The context is fabulous: Theodora, in building the church of the Holy Apostles, “expended great care to make the river Lycus flow underneath.” The Lycus, of course, never flowed under the church of the Holy Apostles, but the legend does presuppose the existence of a covered stretch.

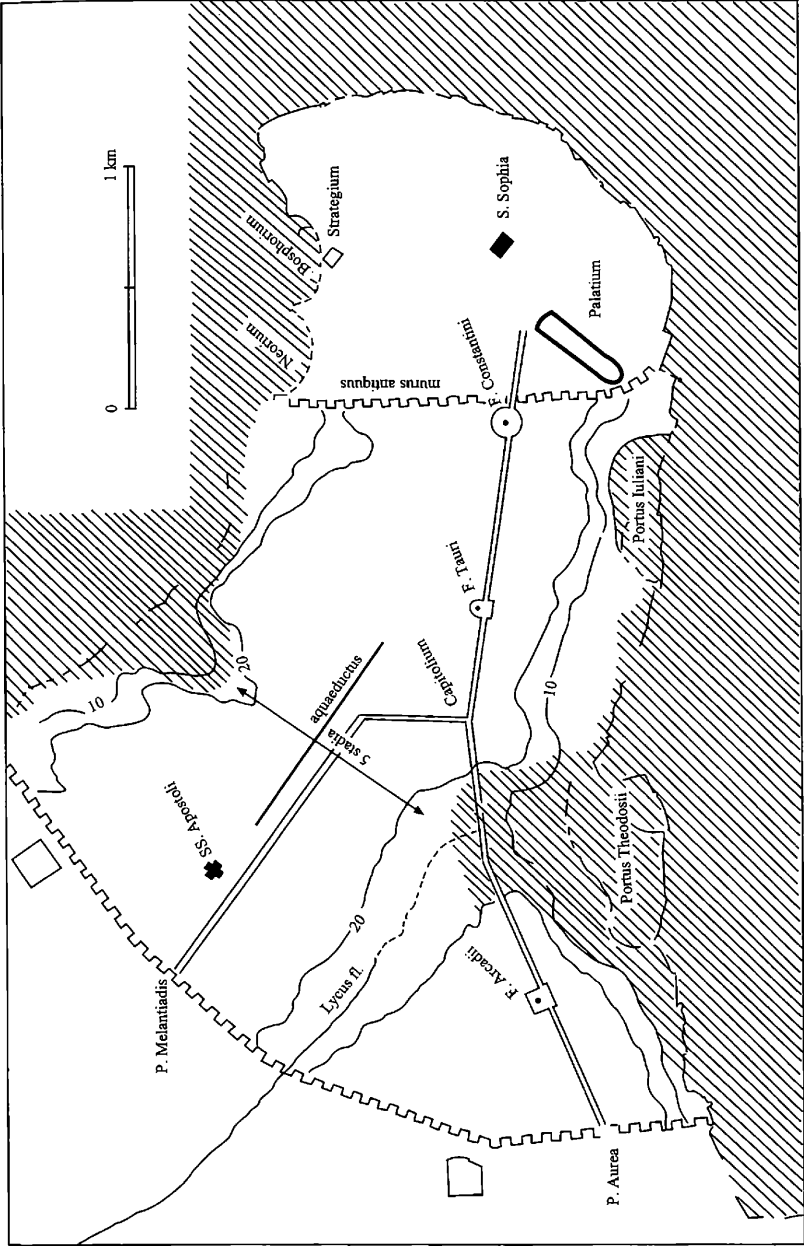


Figure 1. Hypothetical plan of the shoreline of Constantinople in the 4th century.

A couple of parallels may be of interest. Chalcedon, a colony of Megara like Byzantion, was also built on a peninsula, no longer recognizable today because of the silting up of the Kurbağalı Dere to the east and the infilling of the ancient harbor to the west. A rescue excavation in 1976, conducted by Nezi̇h Fıratlı and Nuşın Asgari, showed that the area to the east, i.e. south of the ancient necropolis, was filled with alluvium and must have been originally under water. A sounding near the Osmanağā mosque to the west went down to a layer of sea sand.<sup>15</sup> The sketch-plan published by the two scholars (Fig. 2) is fairly approximate and it may well be that the isthmus was narrower than shown.

The other case is that of Perinthos (Marmara Ereğlisi), whose configuration resembles closely that of ancient Byzantion. Here again the Greek city was built on a jutting peninsula with a harbor on either side. The width of the isthmus is not known exactly, but seems to have been very small: only 1 stade (180 m) according to Diodorus Siculus, who wrote in the first century B.C.<sup>16</sup> It seems, therefore, that the early Greek colonists on the Propontis deliberately chose peninsular sites as being more easily defensible against a potentially hostile native population and providing ready access to natural harbors.

If what I have argued so far is broadly acceptable, some intriguing consequences follow. The first concerns the maritime walls of the city, which were mapped in the last century, but have never been studied in detail because of their relatively unimpressive nature and poor state of preservation—much worse today than a hundred years ago. The enormous panorama of the Marmara walls, drawn in about 1875 by a certain Dimitriadis Efendi and preserved in the library of the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, is of some use, but not of sufficient accuracy; and the same may be said of the two meritorious monographs by Feridun Dirimtekin.<sup>17</sup> Now, there can be no doubt that ancient Byzantion—I mean the Greek city—had maritime walls, described as being lower than the landward ones,<sup>18</sup>

<sup>15</sup> "Die Nekropole von Kalchedon," in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasiens. Festschrift F. K. Dörner*, I (Leiden, 1978), 56–7.

<sup>16</sup> XVI.76.1. Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, IV.47: "Perinthus latitudine CC [in error for DC?] pedum continenti adnexa." An original width of about 200 meters is not out of the question: today it is 480 meters at its narrowest point. See M. H. Sayar, *Perinthos—Herakleia (Marmara Ereğlisi) und Umgebung* (Vienna, 1998), map I.

<sup>17</sup> *Fetihden Önce Marmara Surları* (Istanbul, 1953), reproducing the panorama of Dimitriadis Efendi; *Fetihden Önce Haliç Surları* (Istanbul, 1956).

<sup>18</sup> Cassius Dio, 75.10.

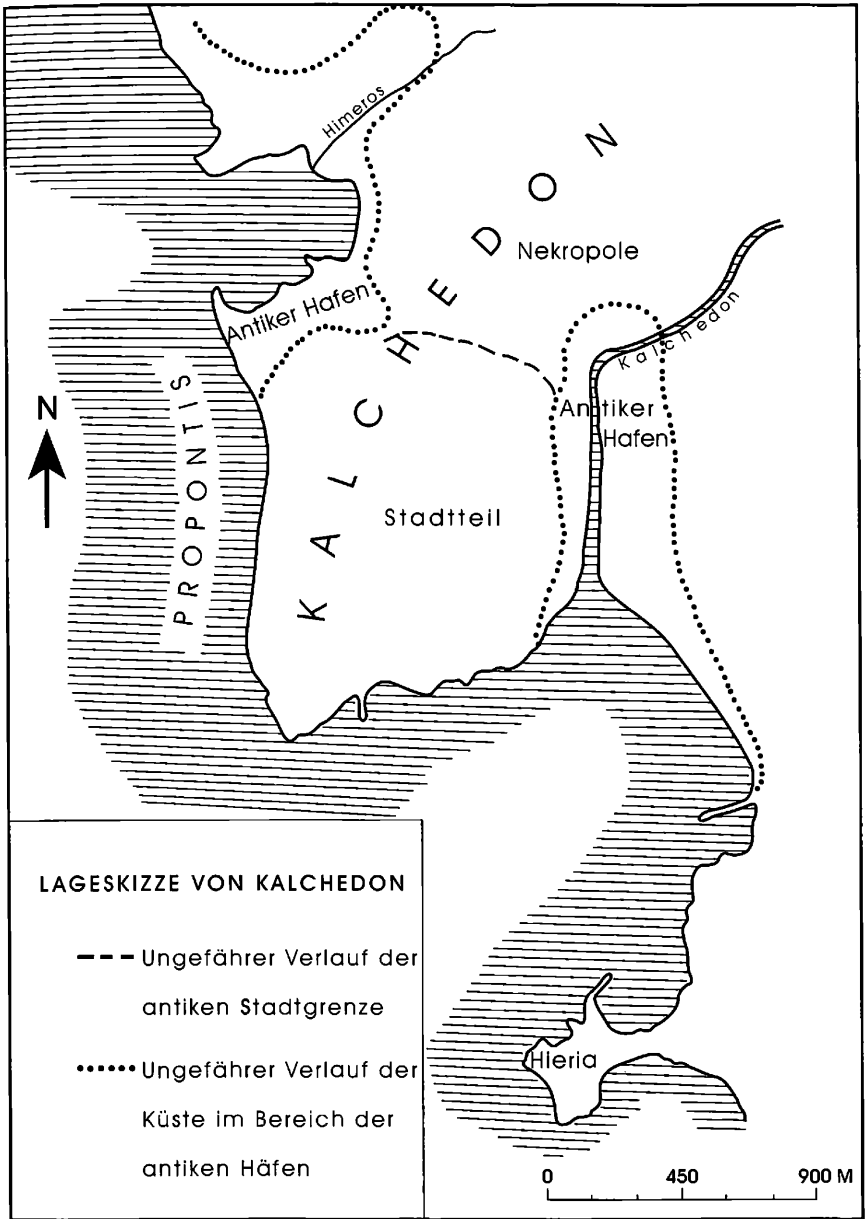


Figure 2. Sketchplan of ancient Chalcedon. After N. Asgari and N. Firath.



and it would seem that on the Marmara side they followed more or less the line of their medieval successors. One bit of wall and one tower, probably of Roman date, remain hidden from view in the Mangana region.<sup>19</sup> On the Golden Horn side, where the wall has completely disappeared—I am still speaking of the Greek city—the situation is less clear. We must make allowance for the two adjacent harbors that existed in antiquity, those called Bosphorion (or Proosphorion) and Neorion, but as these gradually filled up in the course of the Middle Ages, the line of the walls may have been brought forward. Old maps show a re-entrant corner at Yalıköşkü, marking the east termination of the harbor area,<sup>20</sup> while the west one should probably be sought near the Yeni Valide Camii.<sup>21</sup> That is as much as one can say.

Constantine's city, in spite of assertions to the contrary,<sup>22</sup> did not have any sea walls and there were still none in 425 when the *Notitia* of Constantinople was compiled. A single sentence in the *Chronicon Paschale* informs us that in 439 the emperor Theodosius II "ordered that walls be made in a circuit on the whole seaward side of Constantinople,"<sup>23</sup> and it is on that basis that both the Marmara and Golden Horn walls are usually ascribed to that emperor. Such a measure is historically explainable because in that very year the Vandals captured Carthage. For the first time in many centuries there was now an enemy power in the Mediterranean having a naval capability, and no one knew where the Vandals would strike next.<sup>24</sup> But even if Theodosius II did give such an order for Constantinople, how much exactly was carried out and can we identify today any portions that may be attributed to the fifth century? As it happens, the maritime walls are not specifically mentioned in the sources until

<sup>19</sup> R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939), 53, pls. VI.2, IX. For the date see W. Müller-Wiener, "Zur Frage der Stadtbefestigung von Byzantion," *Bonner Jahrbücher* 161 (1961), 169 n. 9.

<sup>20</sup> See the map in A. G. Paspates, *The Great Palace of Constantinople*, tr. W. Metcalfé (London, 1893).

<sup>21</sup> As marked on the general map in Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, whose source for this indication is not known to me.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. Van Millingen, *Byzantine CP*, 179; G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris, 1974), 111. Note the statement of the *Notitia CP*, 242: "circumflui maris tutela uallatur; hoc quoque spatium, quod solum apertum maris circulus derelinquit, duplici muro acies turrium extensa custodit."

<sup>23</sup> Ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), 583.

<sup>24</sup> See J. B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, I (London, 1931), 254.

about the year 700, when they were restored either by the emperor Tiberius Apsimaros<sup>25</sup> or Artemius,<sup>26</sup> and do not preserve a single inscription earlier than the ninth century.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, a text relating to the Avar siege of 626 claims that the Slavs, allied to the Avars, launched their canoes into the Golden Horn hoping to capture the city without a fight, "inasmuch as it lacked a seaward wall."<sup>28</sup> I do not know if this statement is to be taken literally.

Now, the existence of the two deep bays I have postulated would naturally have had a bearing on the erection of maritime walls. The north bay had either been filled when the walls were built or there was an earlier line of wall showing a pronounced indentation that was later brought forward. Of the existing fortifications on that side the only portion known to me that is of early date is a transverse stretch at Ayvansaray.<sup>29</sup> Its function is unknown, but it seems to have had originally nothing to do with the Golden Horn fortifications.

On the Marmara side a large harbor was installed at the mouth of the Lycus, possibly by Theodosius I. We have no precise date for its installation, except it was before 425, when a *portus Theodosiacus* appears in the twelfth region. I would not exclude the possibility of its having been begun by Valens and of having been the facility referred to in such obscure language by Gregory of Nazianzus. It corresponds to the present Langa Bostanı.<sup>30</sup> Its last attestation as a harbor is in the year 673;<sup>31</sup> by the tenth century it seems to have been mostly filled,<sup>32</sup> but part of it was re-activated in the late thirteenth.

The inner circuit of the harbor, of which very little remains today, appears to have consisted of a double arcade, open at the top, closed

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<sup>25</sup> *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai*, 3, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, I, 20, which adds that before Tiberius they had been greatly neglected.

<sup>26</sup> Theoph., 384.

<sup>27</sup> Van Millingen, *Byzantine CP*, 180, misled by the Patriarch Konstantios, records an inscription of the Prefect Constantine (A.D. 447) at Yenikapı. The inscription in question is at Yeni Mevlevihane Kapısı in the Land Walls.

<sup>28</sup> V. Grumel, "Homélie de S. Germain sur la délivrance de Constantinople," *REB* 16 (1958), 195. The Patriarch Germanus, speaking before 730, must have had in view the recent restoration of the sea walls and assumed, rightly or wrongly, that they either had not existed or had not formed a complete circuit in 626.

<sup>29</sup> Shown in Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, fig. 92 on the left.

<sup>30</sup> In spite of the valuable study by A. Berger, "Der Langa Bostanı in Istanbul," *IstMitt* 43 (1993), 467-77, the structural history of the harbor remains obscure.

<sup>31</sup> Theoph., 353 under the name of Kaisarios.

<sup>32</sup> *Patria*, II.63, III.91, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 184-5, 248, calling it the harbor of Eleutherios.

at the bottom, hence not a regular defensive wall (Fig. 3). The masonry may be quite early, but whether it is Theodosian I would not venture to say. Van Millingen, too, was impressed by its antiquity, but went a little too far in stating that this was “the oldest portion of the fortifications of the city, and possibly belongs to the time of Constantine the Great.”<sup>33</sup> The outer wall, built on the mole, has today disappeared and is known only from old drawings.<sup>34</sup> It included two big towers with distinctive machicolations that may be dated to the Palaiologan period (Fig. 4). I would be inclined to connect them with the defensive measures taken by Michael Palaiologos in 1270 in anticipation of an attack by Charles of Anjou.<sup>35</sup>

It may be that a more careful survey of the maritime walls will reveal further portions of early date that may affect my argument, but until that is done the problem remains open.

The ancient shoreline may also have had some bearing on the main avenue of the city, the Mese, which, we know, followed a perfectly straight course from the Milion to the excavated Theodosian arch and probably a little farther west to the Capitolium where, according to the sources, the street forked. It is thought today that the Capitolium was at Laleli, which must be broadly speaking correct, although its exact situation leaves room for doubt. We pick up the avenue again in front of the Murad Paşa mosque and can follow it in a straight line—it is the present Cerrahpaşa Caddesi—past the column of Arcadius to İsa Kapı Mescidi, which marks the approximate position of the Constantinian Golden Gate, and, indeed, some distance beyond. The portion that is missing is in the valley of the Lycus and it may be that the area in question was still partly under water at the time of Constantine. If that were so, a further twist is added to a somewhat baffling problem. Why is it that the great east-west avenue, which was to become the ceremonial way of the city, follow the course it did, a course that did not respect the natural configuration of the terrain and created a major axis at an acute angle to the aqueduct of Valens and, indeed, to the street grid of the ancient city? The creation under Constantine of a new coastal

<sup>33</sup> *Byzantine CP*, 297.

<sup>34</sup> Especially those of Mary Walker, dated 1859–84, in C. G. Curtis, *Broken Bits of Byzantium*, pt. I (n.d.), nos. 36–40.

<sup>35</sup> Pachym., ed. Failler, II, 469 ff. Cf. A.-M. Talbot, “The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII,” *DOP* 47 (1993), 249.



Figure 3. Part of inner circuit of Theodosian harbor (1985).

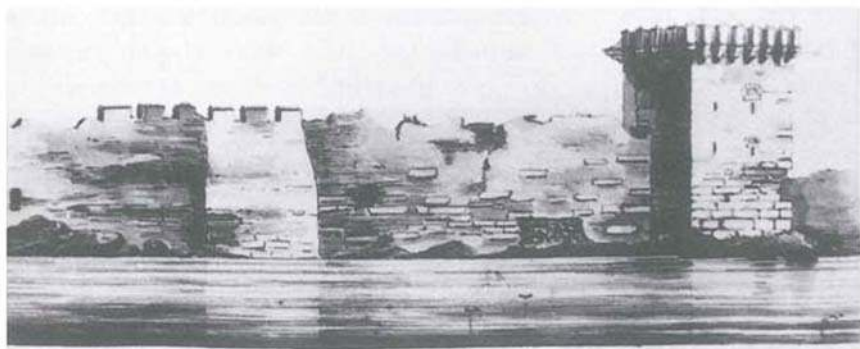


Figure 4. Part of outer wall of Theodosian harbor (ca. 1875). From panorama by Dimitriadis Efendi. Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

highway from Perinthos to Constantinople, a highway that had not existed earlier, determined the location of the Golden Gate, the new ceremonial entrance, but was the eastward direction of the avenue dictated by the need to bypass as much as possible the inconvenient bay that had not yet been filled? Was the avenue laid out in two halves, starting at the ends, with the connecting bit in the middle being supplied somewhat later? To these questions I can find at present no answer.

#### *Addendum*

With regard to the ground gained on the sea, I should have also quoted Himerius, *Or.* 41, ed. A. Colonna (Rome, 1951), 171: "It has already turned the sea itself into dry land and forced it to become part of the city, making solid an element that naturally sways and is unstable." The importance of this testimony lies in its date (362).

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE PORTICOED STREET AT CONSTANTINOPLE

Marlia Mundell Mango

The rhetorical potential of public architecture was well understood by the Roman state. Impressive buildings properly arranged had propaganda value as settings for key public events.<sup>1</sup> The origins of ceremonial aspects of the new capital of the Eastern Roman Empire are often sought at Rome. While the symbolism of seven hills cannot be denied, the physical realities of urban planning at Constantinople may not derive from Rome itself. One major difference between the two cities is the colonnaded or porticoed street, once highly visible at Constantinople but not at Rome.<sup>2</sup> It was, however, common throughout the former Hellenistic lands of the Eastern Empire where it is found from at least the first century A.D. at Gerasa.<sup>3</sup> Praised by Libanius as a civilized feature at the heart of urban life,<sup>4</sup> the *stoa* or *embolos*, as it was called,<sup>5</sup> formed part of the stock image of the

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<sup>1</sup> For a recent discussion, see F. A. Bauer, *Stadt, Platz und Denkmal in der Spätantike* (Mainz, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> On the character and origin of the colonnaded or porticoed street, see A. Segal, *From Function to Monument. Urban Landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria and Provincia Arabia* (Oxford, 1997), 5-10; M. Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture in Classical Antiquity* (London, 1974), 214-6; J. Stephens Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis*, Archaeological Exploration of Sardis Monograph 9 (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 107-25. On the question of the colonnaded street in the Western Empire where the porticoes remained as parts of individual buildings rather than as parts of a unified street, see J. B. Ward-Perkins, "The Art of the Severan Age in the Light of Tripolitanian Discoveries," *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1951), 297-8 n. 24.

<sup>3</sup> A porticoed street at Corinth is contemporary; on dating see the summary in Segal, *Function*, 9 n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Libanius, *Oration XI. The Antiochikos*, see "Antioche décrite par Libanius," tr. by A.-J. Festugière and commentary by R. Martin, in A.-J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne. Libanius, Chrysostome et les moines de Syrie* (Paris, 1959), 33-5, 56-8.

<sup>5</sup> G. Downey, "The Architectural Significance of the Use of the Words *stoa* and *basilike* in Classical Literature," *AJA* (1937), 194-211; C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge, 1979), 65 and n. 39; C. B. Welles in *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, ed. C. H. Kraeling (New Haven, 1938), 471, no. 280; P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, III (Paris, 1870), no. 1878.

*polis*, as deployed still by Procopius who includes it in the list of essential amenities bestowed by Justinian on new or improved cities such as Justiniana Prima, Rusafa and Zenobia.<sup>6</sup>

The practical benefits of the porticoed street providing shelter and shade are obvious. Libanius compared it to a river running through the city.<sup>7</sup> It gave structure to the city itself, pulling together individual buildings and uniting them with the thoroughfare that passed between them. Furthermore, a high level of civic organization was required to finance, build and maintain the colonnaded street. These streets have recently been the subject of a study by Arthur Segal, set in part of the Eastern Empire (south Syria, Palestine and Arabia).<sup>8</sup> Following a brief review of the origins of the colonnaded street, he presents the archaeological evidence from local sites for its component parts which, in addition to the porticoes themselves, encompass both the types of public spaces they adorn and certain incidental decorative features. This study is mainly concerned with the Roman rather than late Roman period, but offers a useful framework within which later streets, including those of Constantinople, may be considered. The following paper will commence with a few remarks about the layout of the porticoed street at Constantinople in conjunction with special parts of the city and will then discuss the archaeological and other evidence for the configuration of the streets themselves.

### *The Layouts of Porticoed and Other Streets*

Texts inform us that important streets of Constantinople were porticoed.<sup>9</sup> The city had one main and several secondary arteries (Fig. 1). One north-south street, of which we know little, probably linked what may have been the two agoras of the Graeco-Roman city of Byzantion—the Strategion by the Golden Horn harbors and the Tetrastoon to the south.<sup>10</sup> From the west side of the latter issued an

<sup>6</sup> Proc., *De aed.*, II.8.25, II.9.7, IV.1.23.

<sup>7</sup> See Libanius in Festugière, *Antioche*, 24.

<sup>8</sup> Segal, *Function*.

<sup>9</sup> *Notitia CP*, 230–43; The Miracles of St. Artemios, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kérameus, *Varia graeca sacra* (St. Petersburg, 1909) and *The Miracles of St. Artemius. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium*, tr. V. S. Crisafulli and J. W. Nesbitt, *The Medieval Mediterranean* 13 (Leiden, 1997), Miracles 18, 21, 26, 29, 36; Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, V.2.

<sup>10</sup> Mango, *Développement*, 19, 43, 71. On the connecting street, see also A. Berger, "Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel," *IstMitt* 47 (1997), 395, who

east-west street which Constantine was to extend to constitute the main artery, the Mese, which led to the Golden Gate in his city wall. A second north-south street bisected the Mese between the Constantinian and Theodosian fora connecting it with the Golden Horn and the harbor of Julian. In conventional Roman terms, the central north-south street corresponded to the *cardo maximus*, while the east-west Mese was the *decumanus maximus*.<sup>11</sup> But in many ways the plan of Constantinople was not conventional in layout.<sup>12</sup>

Along the Mese were built the fora of Constantine (ca. 328), Theodosius I (393), and Arcadius (403), as well as the Fora Bovis and Amastriani, whose locations are less certain than those of the first three.<sup>13</sup> The column of Marcian (450–452) still stands in what was probably a forum on the north branch of west Mese.<sup>14</sup> The latest addition to the city squares, the Forum of Leo (471), represented, literally, a change of direction, being situated on the ancient acropolis.<sup>15</sup>

This layout may be generally compared and contrasted with elements contained in several other cities that for the purpose of the following discussion fall into three main groups. These range from rigidly deployed grid systems to more eccentric arrangements. As far as excavated areas seem to suggest, fairly rigid grids were adopted by at least the second century at Antioch and Apamea in Syria, and at Caesarea in Palestine.<sup>16</sup> They all have a dominant north-south *cardo*, somewhat skewed to the east at Antioch due to the terrain. All three cities are longer than they are broad. Bostra and Gerasa have a broader configuration; at Bostra the main east-west street

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argues against the existence of such a street. On the Tetrastoon, see C. Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959), 42–7.

<sup>11</sup> On the use of these two terms which derive from early Roman land surveying terminology, see Segal, *Function*, 5 n. 1.

<sup>12</sup> On the general street layout of Constantinople, see also Berger, "Regionen und Straßen" and idem, "Streets and Public Spaces in Constantinople," *DOP* (forthcoming).

<sup>13</sup> Mango, *Développement*, 25–6, 28, 43–5; see also idem, *Studies on Constantinople* (Aldershot, 1993), Addenda, 3–4.

<sup>14</sup> Mango, *Développement*, 46, where it is suggested that the inscription of Marcian on the extant column base there may be read "... *forumque*," referring to an otherwise unattested Forum of Marcian.

<sup>15</sup> Mango, *Studies on CP*, Addenda, 2–3.

<sup>16</sup> J. Lassus, *Les portiques d'Antioche. Antioch-on-the-Orontes. V.* (Princeton, 1972), 140–1, plans I–II; J. Balty and J. C. Balty, "Le cadre topographique et historique," in *Apamée de Syrie. Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1965–1968*, ed. J. C. Balty (Brussels, 1969), 33–42, folded plan; K. Holum et al., *King Herod's Dream—Caesarea on the Sea* (New York, 1988), fig. 112.



appears dominant.<sup>17</sup> There, the second-century porticoed *decumanus* extends from the west gate through an oval colonnade to a tetrapylon and then to a second crossroads ornamented with, among other monuments, a nymphaeum, and on to the central Nabataean monumental arch on the east. Another group of sites with a somewhat rigid grid system are cities such as Philippopolis (244–249) modelled on the square Roman castrum plan, having four gates and two main streets crossing at the center; variant layouts are found at Rusafa and Zenobia.<sup>18</sup> A third group of cities may be associated more or less with what could be described as the baroque layout of Palmyra (Fig. 2).<sup>19</sup> Regarding aesthetic standards, it would seem that Palmyra represents a high level of sophistication. The tall, slender proportions of its second-third-century colonnades, based on a nine-meter high column, are elegant, and the shifts in street direction and in horizontal and vertical levels of façade avoid the threat of monotony posed by the prospect of regimented rows of uniform columns. Its streets are punctuated by oval and round piazzas and contain tetrapyla of two types. What may be regarded as a non-classical or extravagant aspect may be explained in terms of the origin of the Graeco-Roman porticoed street in oriental Hellenistic lands. At Palmyra one has the impression of experimentation unfettered by natural features, such as bodies of water, graded terrain, hills, etc. In other words, there the rigid grid has been avoided or adjusted in the interests of aesthetic effect. A related effect is achieved for topographical reasons at Ephesus, where two hills interfere with the development of an extensive grid. Of two main east-west streets, one, the Arcadiane, terminates at a hill and the other, the *Embolos*, is forced into a diagonal path between both hills.<sup>20</sup> Similarly, the asym-

<sup>17</sup> M. Sartre, *Bostra. Des origines à l'Islam* (Paris, 1985), pl. 1; C. H. Kraeling, *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis* (New Haven, 1938) 14–7; A. Segal, *Town Planning and Architecture in Provincia Arabia*, BAR International Series 533 (Oxford, 1988), 31–5, 59–63.

<sup>18</sup> H. C. Butler, *Syria. Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904–1905 and 1909. Div. II. Ancient Architecture in Syria. Section A. Southern Syria, Part 4. Bostra* (Leiden, 1914), 215–47; Segal, *Town Planning*, 83–7; J. Lauffray, *Halabiya Zenobia. Place forte du limes oriental de la haute Mésopotamie au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, II (Paris, 1991), fig. 8; C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture* (New York, 1976), figs. 34, 42.

<sup>19</sup> Lyttelton, *Baroque Architecture*, 204–16, 223–8; C. Saliou, “Du portique à la rue à portiques. Les rues à colonnades de Palmyre dans le cadre de l’urbanisme romain impérial: originalité et conformisme,” in *Palmyra and the Silk Road = Les annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 42 (1996), 319–30.

<sup>20</sup> A. Bammer, “Zur Topographie und Stadtbaulichen Entwicklung von Ephesus,” *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts* 46 (1961–73), 143–57.

metrical layout of Scythopolis is determined in part by the central tell around which the late antique city lay (Fig. 3). Four main colonnaded streets are thus diagonally positioned.<sup>21</sup> At Justiniana Prima the alignment of the streets of the acropolis and the upper city was readjusted part way through construction in the 530s, to meet demands of the terrain.<sup>22</sup> Constantinople's layout most resembles those of this third group.

### *Special Features*

In addition to fora, specific monumental features associated with porticoed streets—namely round piazzas, tetrapyla and nymphaea—were just noted in passing and all were found at Constantinople (Fig. 1). While the Tetrastoon, eventually remodelled by Justinian and thereafter called the Augusteum, had a conventional rectangular form and the Forum of Theodosius may have likewise had a rectilinear layout,<sup>23</sup> Constantine's Forum was circular.<sup>24</sup> What may be regarded as half a circular piazza, namely a semi-circular portico, called a *sigma*, was built by Theodosius II outside the Constantinian Golden Gate, and a second such portico stood somewhere south of the Forum of Constantine. A tetrapylon stood between the fora of Constantine and Theodosius, marking the crossing of the main *cardo* and *decumanus*, while nymphaea adorned some public spaces, notably the Forum of Constantine, and others in Regions IV–V and X. These will now be briefly considered in the light of comparanda, with the exception of so-called triumphal arches (such as those of the Constantinian and Theodosian Fora) which form a better studied type.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Y. Tsafrir and G. Foerster, "Urbanism at Scythopolis-Bet Shean in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries," *DOP* 51 (1997), 91–9, 120–1, figs. C–D.

<sup>22</sup> C. Vasić, "Le plan d'urbanisme de la ville haute: essai de reconstitution," in *Caricin Grad*, II, eds. B. Bavant, V. Kondić and J.-M. Spieser (Belgrade-Rome, 1990), 307–15.

<sup>23</sup> On the Tetrastoon/Augusteum, see Zosimus, II.31, p. 85; Mango, *Brazen House*, 43–6. It has been suggested that the Theodosian Forum was modelled on Trajan's Forum at Rome; see recently Mango, *Développement*, 43–5; A. Berger, "Tauros e Sigma. Due piazze di Costantinopoli," in *Bisanzio e l'Occidente: arte, archeologia, storia. Studi in onore di Fernanda de' Maffei* (Rome, 1996), 17–24; Bauer, *Stadt* (note 1 above), 187–203, 416–7, figs. 62–3. The layout of other fora is not known.

<sup>24</sup> *Patria*, II.101–102, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 205.

<sup>25</sup> On triumphal arches, see Segal, *Function*, 129–40, with bibliography p. 129 n. 96; M. Chéhab, "Fouilles de Tyr—La Nécropole, I: L'Arc de Triomphe," *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 33 (1983), 11–124.

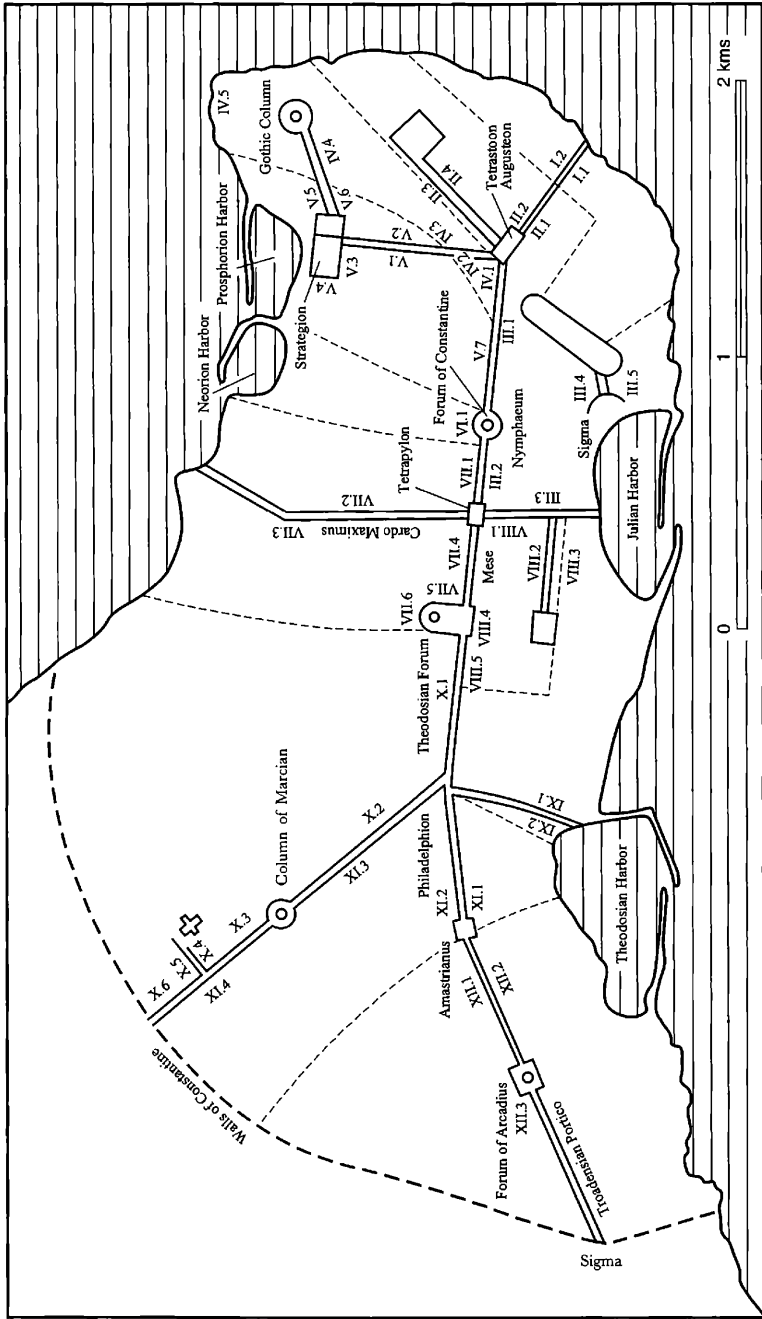


Figure 1. Plan of Constantinople showing proposed locations of *porticus* listed in the *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* and other features mentioned in the article. Drawing author and A. Wilkins.

a. *Oval or Circular Piazzas*

A public space that is neither a forum nor a permanent market (*macellum*)<sup>26</sup> is classified by Segal as an ornamental plaza, a colonnaded space dominated by one or more notable monuments. At Constantinople, the Philadelphion, which was not a forum, may be considered such an ornamental plaza, adorned as it was by several monuments in porphyry—a pillar supporting a cross, statues of the tetrarchs and other statues.<sup>27</sup> Although the shape of the Philadelphion is unknown, ornamental piazzas may have various forms including circular or oval. Constantine's circular forum was surrounded by a two-story colonnade pierced on two sides by a monumental arch in white marble, possibly having massive keystones ornamented with Medusa heads.<sup>28</sup> However, although departing from the usual rectilinear configuration of the Greek agora and Roman forum, Constantine's plaza was not merely ornamental: it is consistently called a forum well into the Middle Ages.<sup>29</sup> This architectural departure may therefore be noteworthy. Some excavated evidence of Constantine's Forum could suggest that it had a total diameter of about 100 meters which would make it larger than other circular piazzas. At an earlier time, in the second and third centuries, Palmyra (Fig. 2), Bostra and Gerasa all built piazzas both circular (with diameters of 50, 43.60 and 36 meters, respectively) and oval (40 × 50, 36 × 24 and 90 × 80 meters, respectively).<sup>30</sup> Later, Justinian embellished two key cities with circular piazzas. Only a small segment has been excavated of the one (diameter ca. 36 meters) added to the rebuilt *cardo* of Antioch in 540, while the piazza (diameter ca. 30 meters) built in the 530s with a central bronze imperial statue (Justinian?) on a

<sup>26</sup> On fora and *macella*, see Segal, *Function*, 55–67; for those at Constantinople, see M. Mundell Mango, "The Commercial Map of Constantinople," *DOP* (forthcoming). For the fora at Rome, Constantinople and Ephesus in late antiquity, see Bauer, *Stadt*, 255–6.

<sup>27</sup> On the location and statues, see Mango, *Développement*, 28–30, 45–6; Bauer, *Stadt*, 228–33; Segal, *Function*, 67–8.

<sup>28</sup> On the forum and the Medusa heads, see Mango, *Développement*, 25–6 and n. 17; see also Bauer, *Stadt*, 167–87, 414–6, fig. 59; J. Bardill, "The Palace of Lausus and Nearby Monuments in Constantinople: A Topographical Study," *AJA* 101 (1997), 71 n. 20, fig. 3. See further note 70 below.

<sup>29</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, VI.1, 13; N. Oikonomides, "Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au X<sup>e</sup> s.: prix, loyers, imposition (*cod. Palmiacus* 171)," *DOP* 26 (1972), 345–56; see also Mundell Mango, "Commercial Map."

<sup>30</sup> Segal, *Function*, 67–79.

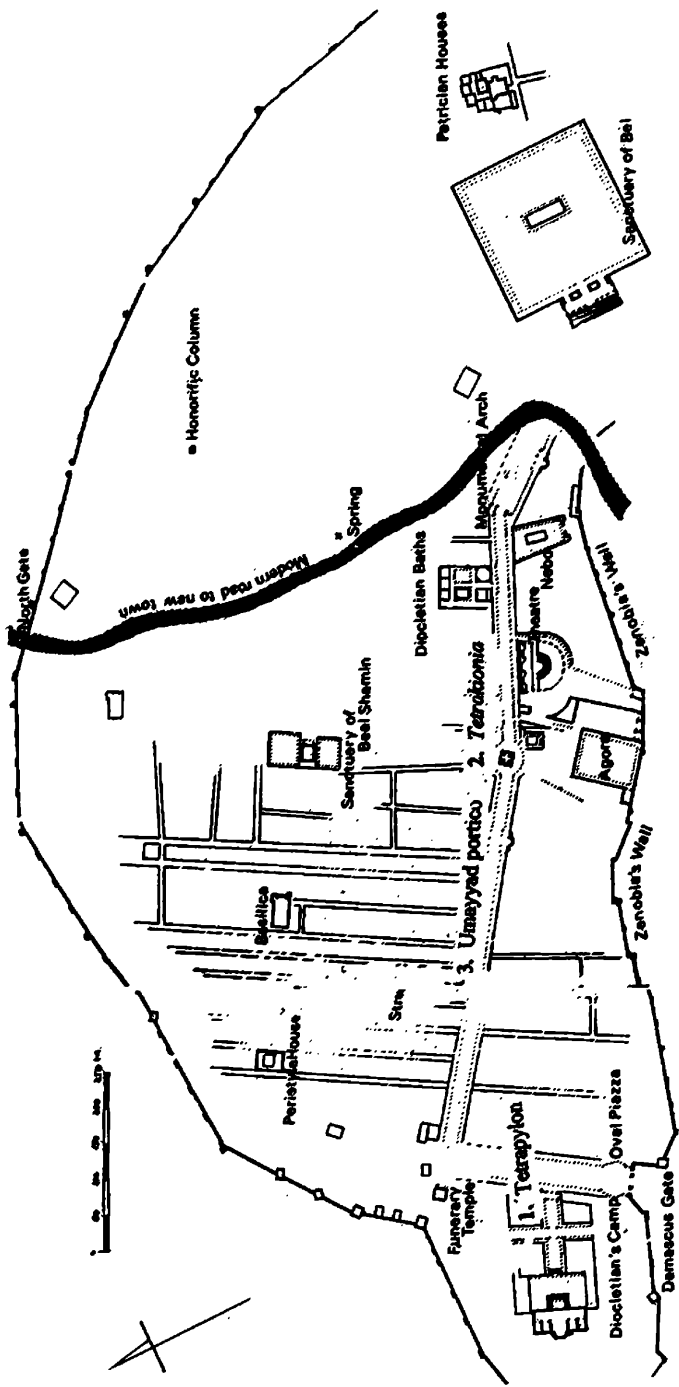


Figure 2. Plan of Palmyra showing features mentioned in the article. After I. Browning, *Palmyra* (Park Ridge, 1979), map 3.

white marble column provided an important focus to the new city of Justiniana Prima where it was situated at the crossing of the *cardo* and *decumanus*.<sup>31</sup>

#### b. Sigma *Porticoes*

More unusual still are the semi-circular or *sigma* porticoes at Constantinople, that built by Theodosius II and that in Region III, somewhere south of the Forum of Constantine (Fig. 1).<sup>32</sup> This architectural type is not even mentioned by Segal. Two built in late antiquity may be cited in other eastern cities. At Bostra a semi-circular portico with three niches—called a “*trikonchon sigma*”—was built “from the foundations” in 488, according to a text inscribed on two marble columns reused in a mosque.<sup>33</sup> A complex fitting this description and called a “*sigma*” in two other inscriptions has been excavated recently at Scythopolis (Fig. 3). This semi-circular portico forms an exedra (ca. 50 × 40 m) encompassed by three apses and incorporating twelve shops revetted in marble and decorated with mosaic pavements. It was built in A.D. 507 into the west side of Palladius street, an earlier, fourth-century street.<sup>34</sup> Both these examples post-date the Theodosian and other (?) *sigma* at Constantinople. One could speculate that the type originated at Constantinople and point to the Theodosian houses there (Antiochus, “Lausus”, “Mangana”) which have similar, semi-circular porticoed entrances.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Lassus, *Les portiques*, 14–5, plans IV–V, figs. 8–9; Vasić in *Caricin Grad*, II, eds. Bavant et al., 311–5; D. Mano-Zisi, *Caricin Grad—Justiniana Prima* (Leskovac, 1969), 27–8.

<sup>32</sup> Mango, *Développement*, 50 n. 81; *Notitia CP*, 232: “*Porticum semirotondam, quae ex similitudine fabricae sigma Graeco uocabulo nuncupatur.*” W. Müller-Wiener, “Das ‘Sigma’—eine spätantike Bauform,” in *Armağan—Festschrift E. Akurgal* (= *Anadolu-Anatolia* 21, 1978/80) (Ankara, 1987), 121–9.

<sup>33</sup> Built under Flavius Arcadius Alexander, governor of Arabia; M. Sartre, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, XIII, no. 9122.

<sup>34</sup> The inscriptions, stating that the *sigma* was built in the days of Theosebius, the governor of Palaestina Secunda, are on two limestone blocks; Tsafrir and Foerster, “Scythopolis,” 121–2, 130, figs. 28–9.

<sup>35</sup> For the palaces of Antiochus and “Lausus”, see Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 122, 238–9, fig. 109 and Bardill, “Lausus,” 67–9, fig. 1; for the house near the Mangana, see R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939), 81–93, pl. XII.

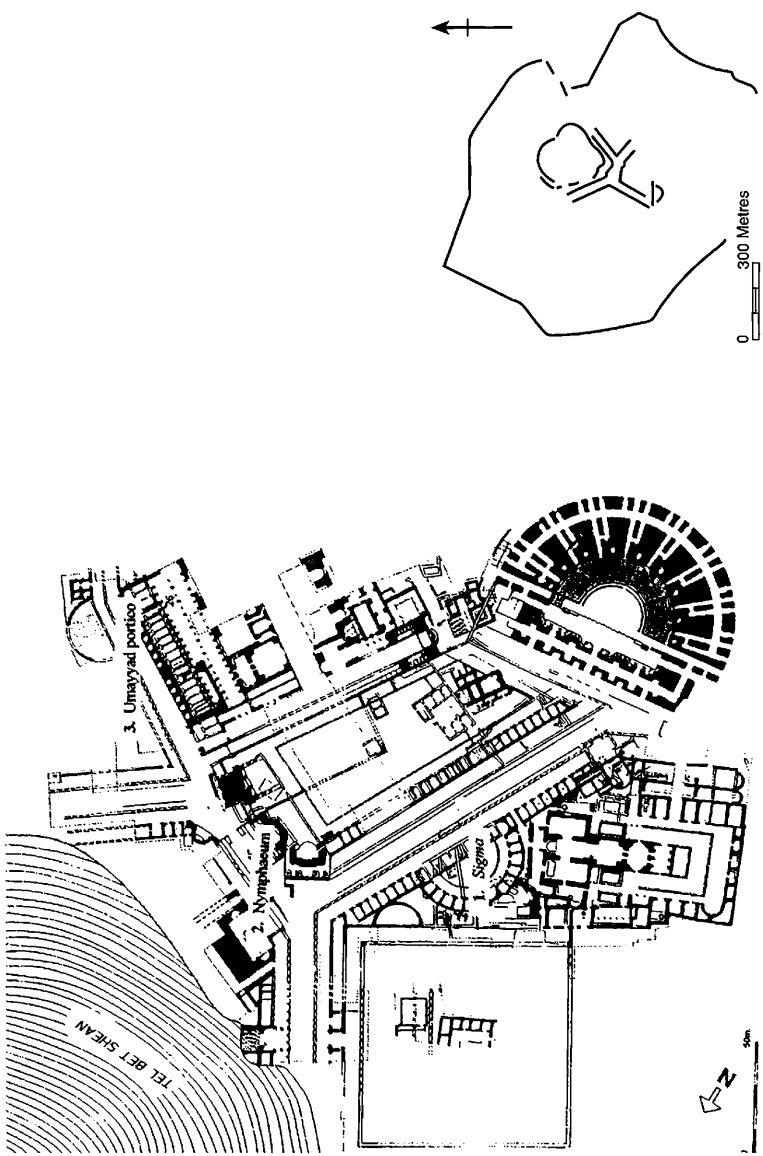


Figure 3 (a & b). Plan of Scythopolis showing features mentioned in the article. (a) After Y. Tsafir and G. Foerster, "Urbanism at Scythopolis-Bet Shean in the Fourth to Seventh Centuries," *DOP* 51 (1997), figs. C-D; (b) Drawing A. Wilkins.

c. *Tetrapyla*: Tetrakionia, etc.

Tetrapyla can be another integral feature of colonnaded streets, at an intersection where a total of eight porticoes join one of two façades of each pier. As stated earlier, at Constantinople a bronze-clad tetrapylon marked the crossing of the main *cardo* and *decumanus*, that is on the Mese.<sup>36</sup> Earlier tetrapyla stood at street intersections at Laodiceia, Gerasa (Fig. 6), and Philippopolis,<sup>37</sup> and in complexes built by Diocletian at Antioch (his palace) and Palmyra (his camp; Fig. 2),<sup>38</sup> as well as at Justinian's remodelled Zenobia,<sup>39</sup> possibly at Dara<sup>40</sup> and at Umayyad Anjar.<sup>41</sup> Distinct from these *quadrifons* (that is roofed) tetrapyla were the *tetrakionia* which stood in the center of the circular or oval piazzas at Bostra, Palmyra (Fig. 2), and Gerasa.<sup>42</sup> Although free-standing, these also marked intersections. A distinctly Christianized version was inserted into the Arcadiane at Ephesus during the reign of Justinian, where each column supported a statue of an Evangelist and the columns' plinths (3 meters high) were decorated with niches framing further statues.<sup>43</sup>

d. *Nymphaea*

As stated earlier, four nymphaea are recorded in early fifth-century Constantinople, in Regions IV, V, X and XIV.<sup>44</sup> Only the situation of that on the south side of Constantine's Forum is known with any certainty; the nymphaeum was somehow integrated into the porticoes

<sup>36</sup> Mango, *Développement*, 30–1; R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964), 328–9; see also Berger, "Tauros e Sigma," 17–24 and idem, "Das *chalkun tetrapylon* und Parastaseis Kapitel 57," *BZ* 90 (1997), 7–12; the latter author suggests placing the tetrapylon to the north of the Mese rather than at the intersection.

<sup>37</sup> Segal, *Function*, 15, 34–5, 141 n. 144, figs. 6, 32, 36, 179; J. Sauvaget, "Le plan de Laodicée-sur-Mer," *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 4 (1934), 88–91, fig. 4, pl. XXIV.

<sup>38</sup> Lassus, *Les portiques*, 128; see also *ibid.* for another tetrapylon at Antioch; Segal, *Function*, n. 144, figs. 181–2; D. Krencker et al., *Palmyra* (Berlin, 1932), 88–105, pl. 46; K. Michalowski, *Palmyra—Fouilles polonaises, II, 1960* (Warsaw, 1962), 10–54, 78–100, figs. 3–4, 10, 19, 28–33.

<sup>39</sup> Lauffray, *Halabiya-Zenobia, II*, 41–2, figs. 8, 11.

<sup>40</sup> Personal observation of remains to the west of the largest cistern once situated under the cathedral.

<sup>41</sup> K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture. Umayyads, A.D. 622–750*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1969), I/2, fig. 541.

<sup>42</sup> Segal, *Function*, 140–2, 144, figs. 20, 32, 53, 67, 174, 177, 180.

<sup>43</sup> Foss, *Ephesus* (note 5 above), 56–8.

<sup>44</sup> *Notitia CP*, 232–3, 238, 241.



of the forum.<sup>45</sup> Large and elaborate fountains with piped water, backed by high walls, often with multiple niches for statues, nymphaea appeared in many cities of the Roman Empire. Some were positioned at intersections of porticoed streets, as at Bostra, or within a section of a main street, as at Gerasa.<sup>46</sup> Some nymphaea were restored or installed in late antiquity. At Scythopolis, a second-century nymphaeum similar to that at Bostra which stood at the diagonal juncture of two main streets opposite the central tell was restored "from the foundations" in ca. 400, following an earthquake (Fig. 3).<sup>47</sup> At Ephesus, the Library of Celsus, which was built at the juncture of Eutropius street and the *Embolos* in the second century, was, in ca. 400 (?), transformed into a monumental fountain, so that its façade ornamented with statues reflected in a pool constructed below.<sup>48</sup> A nymphaeum newly built in the sixth century was added at Antioch to the *cardo* rebuilt in 540. It was twenty-one meters long, faced in marble and decorated with columned niches for statues (Fig. 4).<sup>49</sup>

### *The Colonnaded Street*

We turn now to the colonnaded street itself (Fig. 5). Essentially the colonnaded street was composed of a durably paved roadway, often encompassing lateral walkways or sewer covers; two less durably paved porticoes with their stylobates, their colonnades supporting flat architraves and sloping roofs; and, very often, a row of shops whose façades form the back wall of the portico.<sup>50</sup> Texts confirm that lighting was provided by governors or shopkeepers for porticoes at Constantinople, Antioch, Edessa, Ephesus, and elsewhere.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>45</sup> Mango, *Développement*, 26; Bauer, *Stadt*, 171, fig. 59, where it is placed on the south-west side of the Forum.

<sup>46</sup> Segal, *Function*, 151–68; 155–7, 160–2, figs. 189–90, 194–7.

<sup>47</sup> Tsafir and Foerster, "Scythopolis," 95–6, 109–10 and nn. 110, 112–3, figs. D 15, 11–13, 22.

<sup>48</sup> Foss, *Ephesus*, 65; Bauer, *Stadt*, 280–3.

<sup>49</sup> Lassus, *Les portiques*, 44–9, figs. 64–77, plans XXVII–XXVIII.

<sup>50</sup> Segal, *Function*, 5–10.

<sup>51</sup> Mundell Mango, "Commercial Map;" most recently see W. van Rengen, "L'éclairage public d'Apamée de Syrie à l'époque byzantine," in *La Syrie moyenne de la mer à la steppe* (Damascus, 1999), 91.

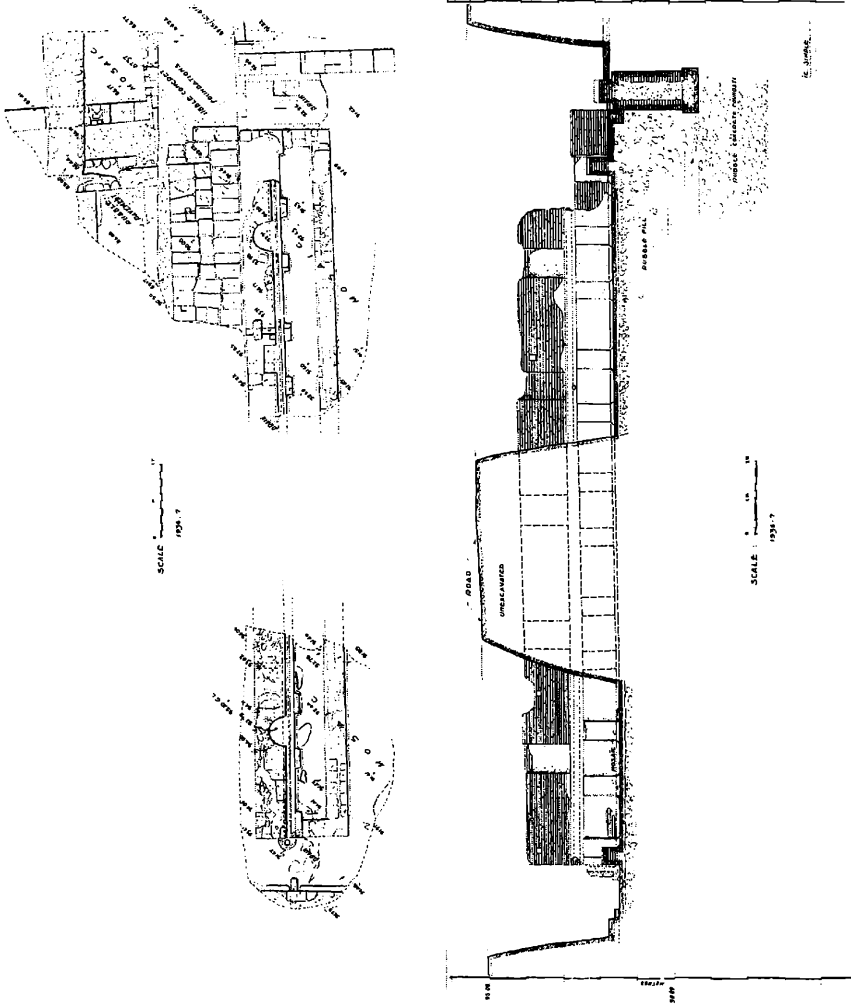


Figure 4. Plan and elevation of nymphaeum (ca. 540) at Antioch. After J. Lassus, *Les portiques d'Antioche. Antioch-on-the-Orontes. V.* (Princeton, 1972), plans XXVII-XXXVIII.

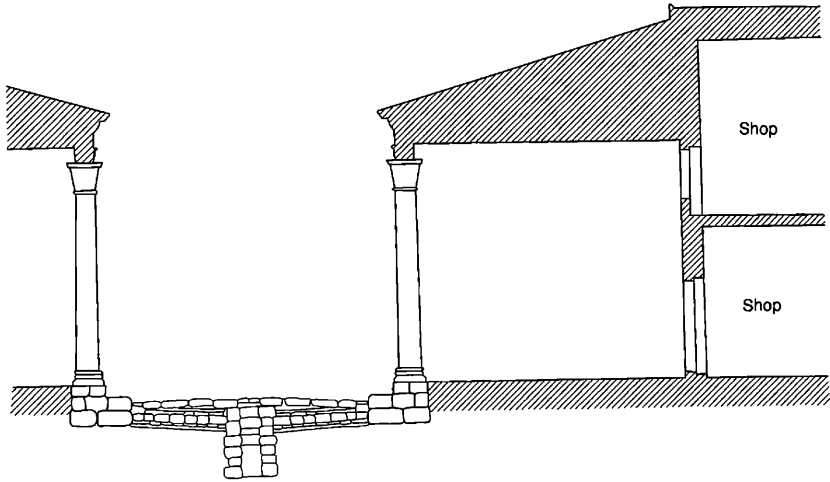


Figure 5. Cross section of a porticoed street. Drawing A. Wilkins.

J. Stephens Crawford, who published the shops of one porticoed street at Sardis, carried out a comparative architectural study in which he analyzed the building materials and dimensions of the component parts of porticoed streets in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>52</sup> These parts include roadway, colonnades, shops and columns; ideally, one should add to these diagnostic features the position and size of drains, sewers and aqueducts within the roadbed. One could also tabulate data relevant to the types of paving used for the roadway: for example, whether it was of basalt or limestone; cut into polygonal or orthogonal slabs, and set into a herringbone pattern or perpendicular to traffic. One could also consider the tessellation or tiled flooring of the porticoes and information concerning the carved profile and decoration of architectural members, whether reused or new. Set against this empirical evidence could be the various regulations found in the sixth-century treatise of Julian of Ascalon which lists the spaces required within the portico of stoa shops.<sup>53</sup>

Admitting that reliable data was hard to come by, Crawford distinguished a Pamphylian group (with Perge, Side and Selge Pisidia),

<sup>52</sup> Crawford, *Sardis* (note 2 above), 107–25.

<sup>53</sup> C. Saliou, *Le Traité d'Urbanisme de Julien d'Ascalon (VI<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, TM Monographies 8 (Paris, 1996), 32–60.

a Cilician group and a Syrian group (with Palmyra, Apamea, Bostra, Antioch, Jerusalem, etc.). To his Aegean group, composed of Sardis, Ephesus, Smyrna, Corinth and Delphi, he tentatively assigned Constantinople. As studied by Crawford, this Aegean group, as reconstructed in late antiquity, had masonry of mortared fieldstone, a roadway width of 10–14 meters, colonnades varying from 5 to 6.3 meters wide, and shops 4.5 to 5.2 meters wide. Column diameter was on average about 55 centimeters and the height 5.5 meters. A general dating of the reconstructed phases of this Aegean group to the fifth century is proposed, and supported by an inscription of A.D. 459 at Sardis.<sup>54</sup> By contrast, the Syrian group was of ashlar masonry and taller proportions (up to 9 meters); in general Syrian porticoed streets were originally older, dating back to the second century (Figs. 2, 6).<sup>55</sup> Yet research shows that these early streets were repeatedly repaired, embellished, remodeled and rebuilt (Fig. 3). In the East, textual evidence records that the colonnaded streets of Antioch (540), Zenobia (550), Gerasa (520), Gaza (536), Edessa (496/7), Dara and Scythopolis (507), as well as those at Justiniana Prima (530), were, like those of the Aegean group, rebuilt or built later, in this case mostly in the sixth century.<sup>56</sup> Excavated evidence suggests the same for Aphrodisias, Apamea, Jerusalem and Caesarea.<sup>57</sup> Tabulated data on each street will be consulted during the following discussion of the relevant evidence at Constantinople.

<sup>54</sup> Crawford, *Sardis*, 123–4.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 125; see also the table of comparative data in Segal, *Function*, 48–9.

<sup>56</sup> Antioch: Lassus, *Les portiques*, 148–9; Zenobia: Lauffray, *Halabiya-Zenobia*, I (Paris, 1983), 129, 137–45; II (1991), 35–47, fig. 8; Gerasa: B. Welles in Kraeling, *Gerasa*, nos. 75–7, 87–98, A. H. M. Jones, *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (1928), 190–2, and M. Mundell Mango, *Artistic Patronage in the Roman Diocese of Oriens, 313–641 AD*, Oxford DPhil thesis, 1984, 332; Gaza: Choricus, ed. R. Foerster, *Choricus Gazaei opera* (Leipzig, 1929), Or. Fun. In Proc. 52; Edessa: *The Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, ed. and tr. W. Wright (Cambridge, 1882), ch. 29; Dara: *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, ed. G. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), 399; Scythopolis: Tsafirir and Foerster, “Scythopolis,” 121–2; Justiniana Prima: Proc., *De aed.*, IV.1.23.

<sup>57</sup> K. T. Erim, “Recent work at Aphrodisias 1986–1988,” in *Aphrodisias Papers. Recent Work on Architecture and Sculpture*, eds. C. Roueché and K. T. Erim (Ann Arbor, 1990), 9–13; Apamea: J. Mertens, “Sondages dans la Grande Colonnade et sur l’enceinte,” in *Apamée de Syrie*, ed. Balty (note 16 above), 61–73; Jerusalem: M. Broshi, “Standards of Street Widths in the Roman-Byzantine Period,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 27 (1977), 232–5; Caesarea Maritima: Holum et al., *Herod’s Dream*, 175–6.

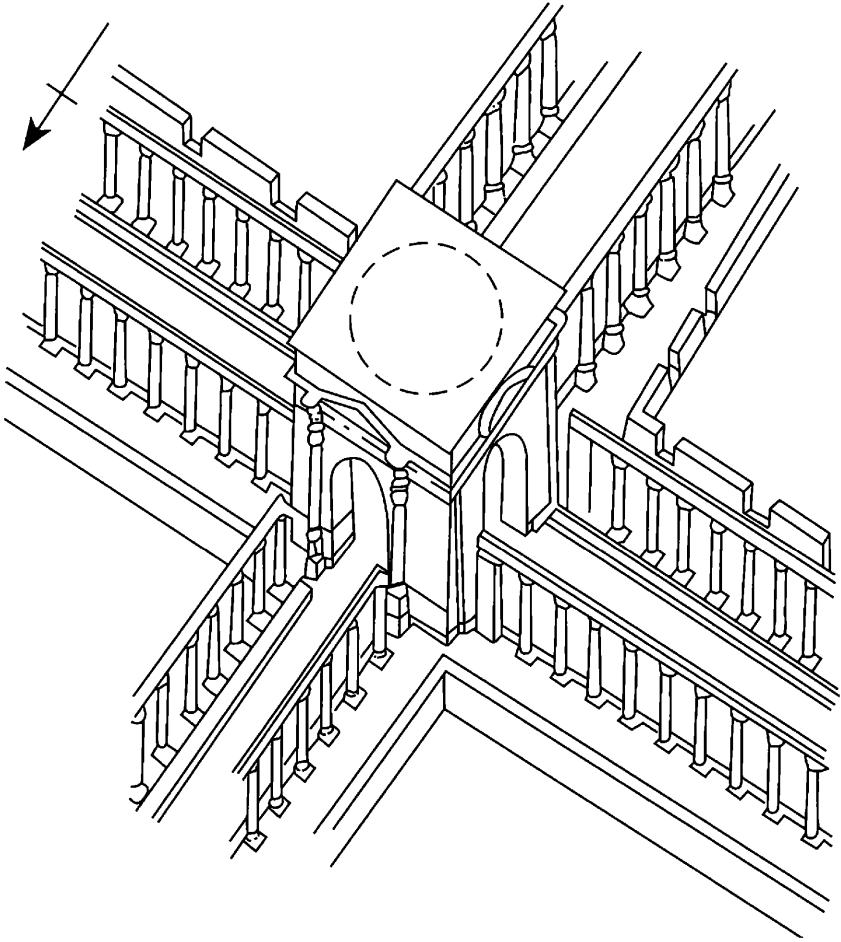


Figure 6. Isometric drawing of reconstruction of northern tetrapylon at Gerasa. Drawing A. Wilkins based on A. Segal, *From Function to Monument. Urban Landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria and Provincia Arabia* (Oxford, 1997), fig. 2.

### *The Streets of Constantinople*

As we may see from the plans of cities just considered, each is marked by one or possibly a few streets lined with roofed colonnades or porticoes (Figs. 2-3, 6). By contrast, we know from the *Notitia* of Constantinople composed in ca. 425 that the fourteen regions of the city contained a total of fifty-two colonnaded streets,

called there “*porticus*,” both *magna* or *maior*.<sup>58</sup> We shall consider now only the forty-nine porticoes of the twelve regions of the city within the Constantinian walls. How do we account for the high number? From the time of Constantine, porticoes had lined the *decumanus maximus*, the Mese, extending from the Milion to the Capitolium.<sup>59</sup> The so-called *cardo maximus* was colonnaded, as the name of its north branch, “the portico of Domninos” (later the Makros or Maurianos *embolos*), indicates.<sup>60</sup> It is known that the porticoes were in places lined with shops<sup>61</sup> and that at least some were double-storied. A law of 22 October 406 (Theodosian Code 15.1.45), issued two years after a fire, refers to the upper porticoes of a street: wooden partitions are to be removed and stairs in wood replaced by stone, in the interest of safety. As was stated above, porticoed streets usually formed one architectural unit with the public squares that interrupted them, so that it may be difficult to count the forty-nine porticoes of the twelve main regions: where did one stop and the next start? The answer may lie in the *Notitia* which suggests that each side of these forty-nine porticoes may have been counted separately and the Mese, for example, was counted in segments as it passed through various regions. These two suppositions are based on the item devoted to Region VIII which designates “the left part of street (Mese) as far as the Forum Tauri.”<sup>62</sup> Using this as a basis of interpretation, it is possible in most of the twelve regions to account for many of the forty-nine porticoes, without having to postulate numerous, otherwise unknown lengths of porticoed streets (Fig. 1).

There is also some written evidence of coastal *emboloi*, especially on the Golden Horn side, which have left no trace on the map.<sup>63</sup> Procopius describes (*De aed.*, I.11.1–9) how Justinian installed a court (*aule*) or promenade (but not a colonnaded street) of marble with many columns and statues at the Arcadiane baths on the Marmara shore where people standing there could converse with those sailing by; hence there were at the time no intervening sea walls. There is

<sup>58</sup> *Notitia CP*, 230–43.

<sup>59</sup> *Cod. Just.* VIII.10.12.6 (undated law of Zeno).

<sup>60</sup> St. Artemios (note 9 above), Miracles 18, 21, 26, 29, 36.

<sup>61</sup> See Mundell Mango, “Commercial Map.”

<sup>62</sup> *Notitia CP*, 236.

<sup>63</sup> Magdalino, *CP médiévale*, 47, 74.

some archaeological evidence of riverside porticoes at Dara,<sup>64</sup> and they are also attested at Edessa in the later sixth century.<sup>65</sup>

*Archaeological Evidence at Constantinople*

Archaeological evidence for the porticoed streets of Constantinople is extremely limited (Fig. 1). The Mese is understood to have been 25 meters wide,<sup>66</sup> hence on a scale with the largest colonnaded streets excavated elsewhere: for example, that at Antioch was 26.72, those at Damascus and Scythopolis (Fig. 3) were 25, while those of Jerusalem, Samaria, Gerasa (Fig. 6), Sardis, Apamea, and Palmyra were between 24 and 22 meters.<sup>67</sup> At Constantinople, a text concerning a fire in 513 states that it swept through ninety-four columns of the portico which ran from the Chalke to the Constantinian Forum, a space of some 600 meters.<sup>68</sup> If only ninety-four columns (or pairs of columns on opposite sides of the street) filled that space, they would have stood six meters apart, wider than other known inter-columniations of colonnaded streets. The Constantinople text may suggest therefore that a section of the portico supported by ninety-four columns burned. On the Mese, behind the so-called House of Lausus, three portico shops have been excavated and, although the excavators added columns—both in front of the shops and on the opposite side of the street—to one version of their plan, they admitted they had not found them. Nor were clear dimensions for the shops provided.<sup>69</sup> Further up the Mese, in the region of Constantine's Forum, Ernest Mamboury recorded an east-west line of two sets of supports located to the south-west of the central column. The columns at the eastern end of the line (labelled "*arcades Chalinariques*") appear too small (having a diameter of ca. 50 centimeters and an intercolumniation of only one meter) to have belonged to the porticoes of the Forum, which would have, in any case, been arranged in a curved, not straight line. On the western end of Mamboury's line are what he

<sup>64</sup> Personal observation.

<sup>65</sup> In 578–603; *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and tr. J. B. Chabot (Paris, 1899–1924), II, 373.

<sup>66</sup> Mango, *Développement*, 27.

<sup>67</sup> Segal, *Function*, table, 48–9.

<sup>68</sup> Mango, *Brazen House*, 79.

<sup>69</sup> R. Naumann, "Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen zwischen Mese und Antiochus-Palast 1964 in Istanbul," *IstMitt* 15 (1965), 145–6, fig. 5.

labels as “piers” (having an intercolumniation of about 2.5 meters; see also below) which may, in fact, correspond to the continuation of the straight Mese just beyond the Forum. If so, since they start at about 50 meters west of Constantine’s column, the maximum diameter of the Forum could be estimated as 100 meters.<sup>70</sup> Other finds of possible Mese colonnades have been insufficiently reported. For example, in 1958 at the time when the Theodosian arch remains were uncovered, Rüstem Duyuran described seeing nearby “remains” of what looked like “the front colonnade of a portico” and which resembled “a colonnade parallel to the tramlines” observed during building constructions a few years earlier. He thought the relation of both sets of remains with the Mese “very obvious,” but gave no details other than citing a stylobate block 30 centimeters thick.<sup>71</sup> Granite columns which may have belonged to the Troadesian porticoes were seen lying near the Arcadius column in recent years.<sup>72</sup> Remains of granite columns, 60–70 centimeters in diameter, were found in non-specific contexts on the south side of St. Polyeuktos where the north branch of the west Mese is thought to have run.<sup>73</sup> Off the main arteries, what may be remains of a stoa have been excavated on the diagonal modern Çatalçeşme street, between the Forum of Constantine and the Augusteum. The columns, on plinths, were apparently 70 centimeters in diameter and thus stood seven meters high; their entablature was richly carved. But these have been thought to be parts of a house façade rather than a street colonnade.<sup>74</sup>

### *Medieval Porticoes*

Given the specific references in *The Book of the Prefect* and other medieval texts to *emboloi* and to their continued commercial activities, one wonders whether the colonnaded street as an architectural form survived or was maintained at Constantinople into the tenth

<sup>70</sup> The small columns to the east probably correspond to the *kionostasia* discussed by C. Mango, “Constantine’s Porphyry Column and the Chapel of St. Constantine,” in idem, *Studies on CP*, no. IV, 105–7; see Bardill, “Lausus,” 71 n. 20, fig. 3, where the two groups of supports (columns and piers) are discussed as one.

<sup>71</sup> R. Duyuran, “Archaeological researches in Bayazit and some observations,” *İAMY* 8 (1958), 73.

<sup>72</sup> Seen in 1982: Mango, *Développement*, 27–8 and n. 32.

<sup>73</sup> Harrison, *Saraghane*, I, 14, 130–1, 415–6.

<sup>74</sup> Th. Macridy in M. Schede, “Archäologische Funde: Türkei,” *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 44 (1929), 357–8; Bardill, “Lausus,” 75–83, figs. 7–9.



century or even later. As recently pointed out, two medieval accounts of fires at Constantinople suggest that wooden-roofed porticoes still stood along main arteries in the city.<sup>75</sup> Sometime between the ninth and late eleventh centuries, the *Miracles of St. Photeine* describes the path of a fire which started in a glass workshop situated on the broad uphill street (*leophoros*) and travelled up that street that led from the Strategion to St. Sophia and the Milion (Fig. 1).<sup>76</sup> Similarly, in 1203, Villehardouin describes the path of the fire which started during the Latin siege of the city, which spread above “the port” (Golden Horn) and penetrated into the city in the direction of St. Sophia and moving on to the Marmara; he watched “les grandes rues marchandes brûler.”<sup>77</sup> That the fire spread along colonnaded streets is further suggested by the fact that Niketas Choniates called it “a flowing river” (*hos eis holkon hena pyroentos synepieto potamou*). He mentions specifically that it destroyed the Porticoes of Domninos, the covered porticoes extending from the Milion to the Forum of Constantine and on to the Philadelphion, taking in everything in between to the north and south, and down to the harbor of Sophia (Julian) and former harbor of Theodosius.<sup>78</sup> This may have been the end of the porticoes.

As mentioned earlier, archaeology has shown that porticoed streets built, for example, in the second century were repeatedly restored, rebuilt, etc. for centuries. In the eighth century they were newly built in the Islamic world at Scythopolis (Fig. 3), Palmyra (Fig. 2) and Anjar.<sup>79</sup> Were these later streets the same? One significant change noted already at Justiniana Prima in the 530s, but not taken up in other, later streets of the sixth century (Antioch, Zenobia), was the substitution of arches supported on brick piers in place of flat architraves on columns.<sup>80</sup> Columns large enough for streets and churches were still being quarried when Justiniana Prima was built, as proven by the shipwreck of ca. 530 off the coast of Sicily whose cargo

<sup>75</sup> Mundell Mango, “Commercial Map.”

<sup>76</sup> A.-M. Talbot, “The Posthumous Miracles of St. Photeine,” *AnBoll* 112 (1994), 85–105.

<sup>77</sup> Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, I: 1199–1203, ed. and tr. E. Faral (Paris, 1938), 161, 209.

<sup>78</sup> Nik. Chon., 554–5.

<sup>79</sup> Tsafirir and Foerster, “Scythopolis,” 123–4, 138–40, 144, figs. 55–9; Creswell, *Architecture*, I/2, 478–81; K. al-As’ad and F. M. Stepniowski, “The Umayyad Suq in Palmyra,” *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 4 (1989), 205–23.

<sup>80</sup> *Caricin Grad*, ed. Bavant et al., 56–60, 107–10, 116–9.

included twenty-eight newly-cut columns five meters high (the size of the "Aegean group" portico columns).<sup>81</sup> The shift from column to pier and from flat entablature to arcade occurred at least a century earlier within church architecture. The Byzantine basilica moved from closely spaced columns supporting an entablature, to more widely spaced columns bearing arches, to masonry piers under wide arches.<sup>82</sup> At Umayyad Anjar the streets are porticoed, with pairs of columns alternating with piers and supporting an arcade, as in a contemporary portico at Scythopolis.<sup>83</sup>

Four minor pieces of physical evidence may be cited to suggest that a column-to-pier shift occurred during a (medieval?) rebuilding of the porticoed streets of Constantinople. The following may, therefore, supplement the above written evidence for the late maintenance of the porticoes in the capital. The first is a report by Feridun Dirimtekin of a sondage at what he took to be the north-west corner of the Augusteum where he said that he found piers ("square columns," "dörtgen sütunlar") standing 3.4–3.5 meters apart (Fig. 1).<sup>84</sup> The second involves Mamboury's drawing of the Forum of Constantine, mentioned earlier. The westernmost line of supports south-west of the porphyry column are square in plan (one meter wide; one is a column) and 2.5 meters apart (see above), the "piers" are labelled as "piliers byzantins tardifs." Do they belong to a medieval remodeling of the porticoes by the Forum? The other two items are pictorial. The (undated) Trier ivory is thought to represent the translation of St. Stephen's relics to a church in the palace in 421. It has been argued that the arcaded façades shown here belonged either to the Mese or to the interior of the palace.<sup>85</sup> If it is the Mese, it is relevant to remark here that Segal, unaware of the streets of Justiniana Prima, was unable to cite confidently a single street arcade pre-dating

<sup>81</sup> G. Kapitän, "Elementi architettonici per una basilica dal relitto navale del VI secolo di Marzamemi (Siracusa)," in *XXVII Corso di Cultura sull'Arte Ravennate e Bizantina, Ravenna 1980* (Bologna-Ravenna), 71–136; on the Sardis columns, see Crawford, *Sardis*, 4, 124.

<sup>82</sup> Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*, 61, 66, 79, 144, figs. 65, 67, 80–1, 97.

<sup>83</sup> Creswell, *Architecture*, I/2, 478–81; at Scythopolis the piers and columns of the Umayyad portico are said to have been used in the same combination as in the Silvanus secular basilica built on the same site in 515/6; see Tsafir and Foerster, "Scythopolis," 123–5, 138–9, fig. 57.

<sup>84</sup> F. Dirimtekin, "Augusteum," *Ayasofya Müzesi Yılığ* 8 (1969), 32–3, 38–9.

<sup>85</sup> K. G. Holm and G. Vikan, "The Trier Ivory, *Adventus* Ceremonial, and the Relics of St. Stephen," *DOP* 33 (1979), 125.

the Umayyad period.<sup>86</sup> The last item to consider is the arcade featured in the thirteenth-century painting at Arta interpreted as the weekly procession of the Hodegon's icon in a public square at Constantinople (Fig. 7).<sup>87</sup> Noteworthy here is the arcaded façade that recalls that of the Trier ivory. These two images may, then, portray a later form of the public porticoes than those originally built by Constantine and his immediate successors.

In sum, at Constantinople the porticoed streets and associated urban features—piazzas and monuments such as tetrapyla and nymphaea—may be compared with those of other cities of the Eastern Roman Empire, probably inherited from the Hellenistic world. The circular layout of the Forum of Constantine is a notable exception to the earlier standard agora/forum, although ornamental piazzas were both circular and oval. The *sigma* portico is documented elsewhere, but later than at Constantinople where it may have originated. Late antique “triumphal arches,” tetrapyla and nymphaea excavated elsewhere, although not numerous, deserve a comprehensive study in their own right and should provide concrete details of use in reconstructing the “rhetorical” architecture of Constantinople. By contrast, the late antique version of the porticoed street has been recovered at numerous sites, and further examination of all the relevant evidence should lead to a proper work of synthesis. Since, as stated above, the porticoed street gave structure to the city itself, a better understanding of its role at Constantinople, both architectural and social, would improve our knowledge of the Byzantine capital.

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<sup>86</sup> Segal, *Function*, 52 and n. 68, where he cites only Silvanus Street at Scythopolis which has now been redated to the Umayyad period; see Tsafir and Foerster, “Scythopolis,” 138.

<sup>87</sup> M. Achimastou-Potamianou, “The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Vlachernae Monastery (Area of Arta),” in *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Athènes 1976. II: Art et Archéologie. Communications* (Athens, 1981), 1–14.

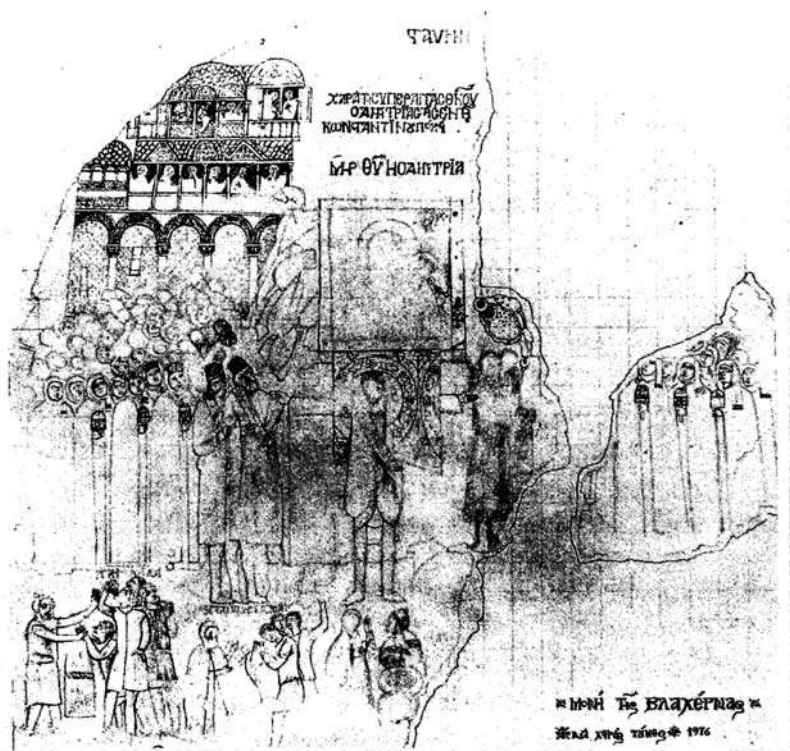


Figure 7. Detail of drawing of a wallpainting near Arta of a forum at Constantinople, 13th century. After M. Achimastou-Potamianou, "The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Vlachernae Monastery (Area of Arta)," in *Actes du XV<sup>e</sup> Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Athènes 1976. II: Art et Archéologie. Communications* (Athens, 1981), fig. 14.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### ARISTOCRATIC *OIKOI* IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH REGIONS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

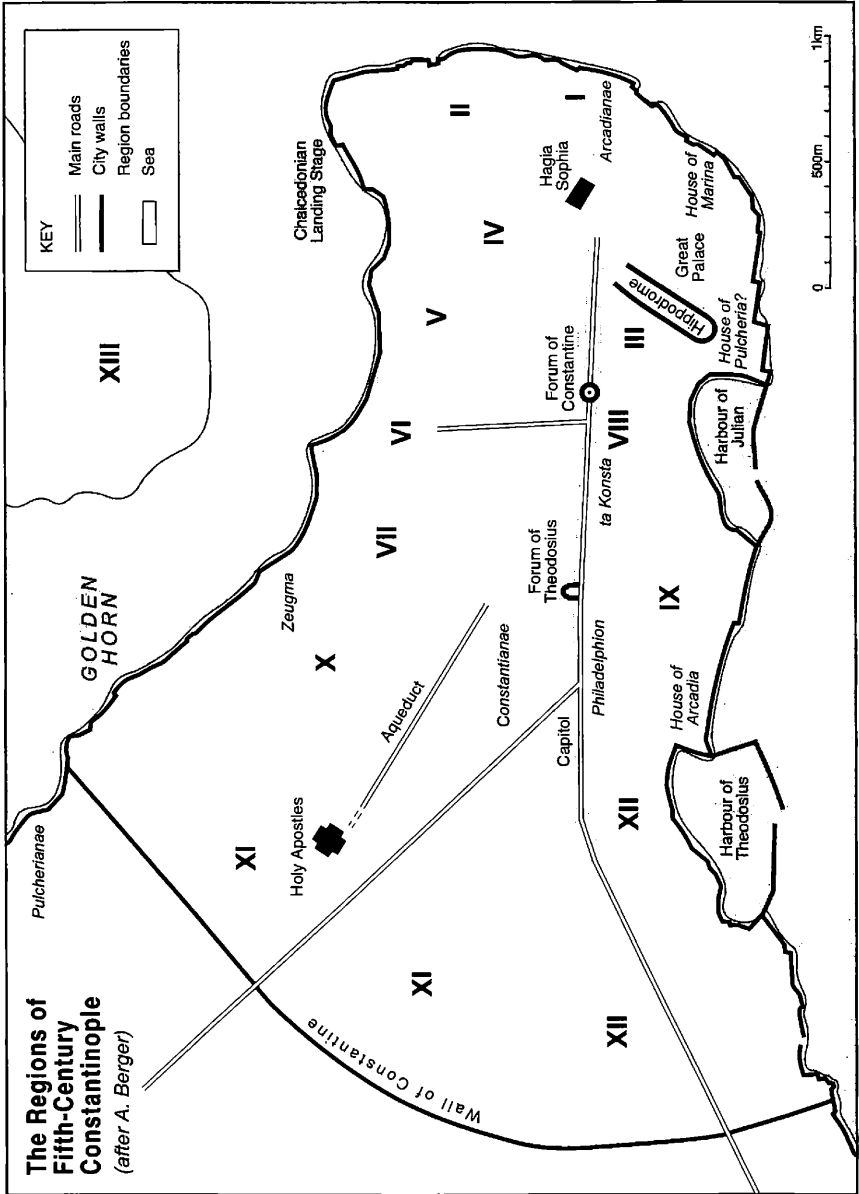
Paul Magdalino

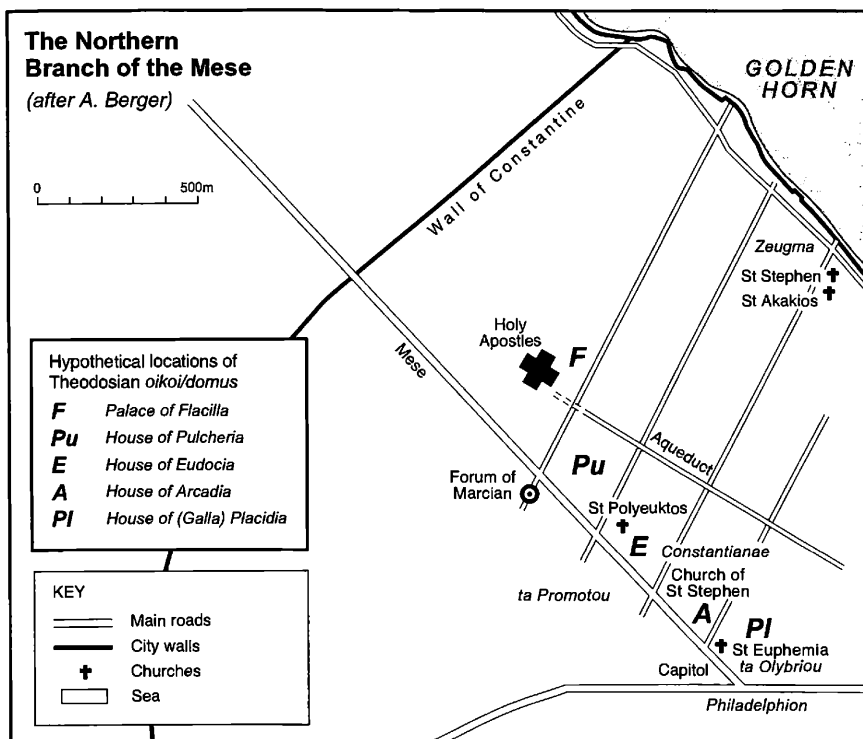
Constantinople grew as a westward extension of ancient Byzantion. As a result, it is all too easy to visualize the city of Constantine and Theodosius as an organism, like a moth or a flatfish, where the center of gravity and the nerve center were firmly located towards the eastern corner of the developing urban triangle. Reading the accounts of the city's foundation in Zosimus and the *Chronicon Paschale*,<sup>1</sup> and looking at the remains of Constantine's column, the Hippodrome and Hagia Sophia, one quickly forms the impression that west of the Forum of Constantine, Constantinople slipped gradually away into suburbia. This may have been how things turned out, but was it how the city was envisaged by its founder and his successors who shaped it in the first century of its existence? It seems to me that emperors and imperial families from Constantine to Theodosius II were concerned to deploy the whole of the urban space defined by the Constantinian land wall. It was close to this wall that Constantine built his mausoleum, complete with a bath and palace complex, and it was near the center of the intra-mural area that he established the Capitol of the New Rome, exactly equidistant from the mausoleum and the forum that were the major monuments to himself. Theodosius I constructed the largest of the city's harbors to the south-west of this nodal point, and his successors Arcadius and Theodosius II laid out a forum with a triumphal column less than one kilometer from the Constantinian Golden Gate. The *Notitia* of Theodosius II does not show a city which was demographically weighted towards its east end; if anything, the disparity was between north and south.<sup>2</sup> The highest concentration of ordinary dwellings

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<sup>1</sup> Zosimus, *Hist. nov.*, II.30, ed. F. Paschoud, I (Paris, 1971), 102-4; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1832), 528-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Notitia CP*, 229-43; cf. A. Berger, "Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel," *IstMitt* 47 (1997), 349-414.





lay outside the area of ancient Byzantium. It was highest in the sixth, seventh and tenth regions, which had 484, 711 and 636 *domus-insulae* respectively. The north-west quarter of the city was thus one of the most densely inhabited. While the impressive figure of 636 *domus-insulae* in the tenth region was partly due to the size of the region, it has to be noted that a significant part of the area was taken up by two large uninhabited structures, the Baths of Constantius (*thermae Constantianae*) and a Nymphaeum, and three low-density habitations, namely the palatial residences (*domus*—*oïkoi*) belonging to women of the imperial family:<sup>3</sup> the Augusta Placidia,<sup>4</sup> the Augusta Eudocia,<sup>5</sup> and the Nobilissima Arcadia.<sup>6</sup> The presence of these aristocratic *oikoi*

<sup>3</sup> On the women in question, see in general K. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley-Los Angeles, 1982).

<sup>4</sup> Daughter of Theodosius I and Galla: *PLRE* II, 888-9 (Aelia Galla Placidia 4).

<sup>5</sup> Wife of Theodosius II: *PLRE* II, 408-9 (Aelia Eudocia 2).

<sup>6</sup> Sister of Theodosius II: *PLRE* II, 129 (Arcadia 1).



in what was otherwise an ordinary residential quarter is in itself noteworthy. So, too, is the concentration of these *oikoi* in the west of the Constantinian city, where, together with the house of the Augusta Pulcheria<sup>7</sup> and the palace of Flaccilla<sup>8</sup> (*palatium Flaccillianum*) in the eleventh region, they formed a pendant to the group of imperial residences clustered around the Great Palace at the east end: the palace of Placidia, and the houses of Placidia, Marina and Pulcheria. Only the house of Arcadia in the ninth region did not obviously belong, by location, to either group; however, it should probably be counted among the satellites of the Great Palace, given that Arcadia had another house in the tenth region. For the symmetry and the separateness of the two groups are underlined by the fact that the houses of Pulcheria, Placidia and Arcadia in the west of the city were all second homes, which suggests that the residences in this area had a different function, perhaps corresponding to a different seasonal use, or a different focus, from their counterparts further south and east.

Where exactly were the Theodosian *domus* in the tenth and eleventh regions? The *Notitia* of Theodosius II has recently been the subject of a detailed study by Albrecht Berger, which provides both a basis and an incentive for the solution of this and other topographical problems posed by the document.<sup>9</sup> By correlating the data of the *Notitia* with a variety of textual and material evidence for the street plan of Constantinople, Berger has produced a precise and detailed reconstruction of the “skeleton” of the fifth-century city which is likely to remain, at least in the near future, the working map of the twelve inner urban regions. At the same time, Berger’s study serves to underline the continuing difficulty of locating other parts of the urban organism within the regional boundaries. The Theodosian houses in the tenth and eleventh regions are a prime example of this. Berger has declared that the houses of Placidia and Eudocia are “mangels weiterer Angaben nicht lokalisierbar,” and that the palace of Flaccilla “läßt sich innerhalb der Region nicht lokalisieren.” He tentatively suggests locations for the houses of Arcadia and Pulcheria, on the basis of supposed associations with the quarters known from other texts as the Pulcherianae and Arcadianae.<sup>10</sup> Un-

<sup>7</sup> Sister of Theodosius II: *PLRE* II, 929–30 (Aelia Pulcheria).

<sup>8</sup> Second wife of Theodosius I: *PLRE* I, 341–2 (Aelia Flavia Flaccilla).

<sup>9</sup> Berger, “Regionen und Straßen,” *passim*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 370, 371.

fortunately, neither of these associations can be accepted. There is clear evidence that the Arcadianae corresponded to the Baths of Arcadius in the first region;<sup>11</sup> as for the Pulcherianae, Berger himself gives good reasons for concluding that this complex definitely lay outside the Constantinian wall. So the enquiry has to begin afresh.

While there is nothing in the *Notitia* to indicate that the Theodosian residences in the western neighborhoods were close together, the analogy of the eastern cluster suggests that this was the case, and invites us to look for a common focus in the general area where the tenth and eleventh regions adjoined. Such a focus clearly existed in the complex of the Holy Apostles. Where the tenth region is concerned, it is also reasonable to suppose that the imperial ladies might have had their residences in a different part of the region from the neighborhoods where the apartment blocks of the 636 lower-class households were situated. What the tenth region had in common with the other urban regions of high population density was its position beside the Golden Horn. It therefore seems sensible to situate the lower-class housing in the northern part of the region, along the Golden Horn, and to seek the Theodosian palaces further south, in the area where we know the Baths of Constantius to have been. This hypothesis is amply confirmed by evidence that the Constantianae were the center of an aristocratic neighborhood in the fourth to sixth centuries. Elsewhere, I have pointed to indications that the residence of the sixth-century senatorial lady Hilara may have stood on the site later occupied by the Pantokrator monastery.<sup>12</sup> The *Life* of Olympias, the devoted supporter of St. John Chrysostom, says that she owned a house near the Baths of Constantius, where she resided, in preference to her two other urban residences, which were at *ta Olympiados*, near the Great Church, and at *ta Euandrou*, whose location cannot be identified.<sup>13</sup> This plurality of town houses clearly predates the Theodosian examples and foreshadows the pattern that they reveal. Somewhere near the Constantianae stood *ta Areobindou*, evidently the house of the Gothic general Flavius Areobindus or his grandson of the same name.<sup>14</sup> The father-in-law of Areobindus junior, the Roman patrician and erstwhile western emperor Olybrius, owned

<sup>11</sup> Proc., *De aed.*, I.11; cf. Janin, *Églises*, 340.

<sup>12</sup> Magdalino, *CP médiévale*, 46–7.

<sup>13</sup> *AnBoll* 15 (1896), 413–4; *PLRE* I, 642 (Olympias 2).

<sup>14</sup> *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 237–8; *PLRE* II, 143–6 (Areobindus 1, Ariobindus 2).

*ta Olybriou*, to the south-east of the Constantianae.<sup>15</sup> On the other side of the Constantianae was the palace of Olybrius' daughter Anicia Juliana, who has become immortalized by the church of St. Polyeuktos which she rebuilt next door.<sup>16</sup> Not far from St. Polyeuktos stood the church of St. Christopher at *ta Promotou*, which evidently occupied the site of the house of Theodosius I's *magister militum*, Promotus.<sup>17</sup> The houses of Olybrius, Juliana and Promotus all lay beside the northern branch of the city's central avenue, the Mese. While the house of Promotus probably lay south-west of the avenue, there are good reasons for thinking that the houses of Olybrius and Juliana were on the north-east side, along with the Constantianae. Firstly, in the *De cerimoniis, ta Olybriou*, the Constantianae and St. Polyeuktos are described as a continuum along the processional route to the Holy Apostles. Secondly, the exact position of St. Polyeuktos, as determined by the excavations at Saraçhane, relative to the aqueduct and to other more or less fixed points (the Fatih Camii, on the site of the Holy Apostles, the column and Forum of Marcian, the site of the Philadelphion near the Laleli mosque) which mark the approximate alignment of the avenue, makes it extremely unlikely that the avenue could have passed to the east of the church. Thus if the avenue formed the boundary between the tenth and eleventh regions, as Berger plausibly suggests, the houses of Juliana and Olybrius would have come within the tenth region.

St. Polyeuktos is in fact the key to locating not merely the aristocratic neighborhood of the Constantianae, but at least two of the Theodosian *domus* of the *Notitia*, because the builder of the church, Anicia Juliana, was descended from two of the Theodosian empresses in question: the Augusta Eudocia and the Augusta Placidia were her maternal great-grandmothers.<sup>18</sup> Her descent from Eudocia was clearly crucial to her rebuilding of St. Polyeuktos, for in the famous dedicatory epigram (*Anth. Pal.* I 10) it is stated that her church replaced

<sup>15</sup> *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 237; *PLRE* II, 796–8 (Anicius Olybrius 6).

<sup>16</sup> *PLRE* II, 635–6 (Anicia Juliana 3); on the church of St. Polyeuktos, see Harrison, *Saraçhane*, I; idem, *A Temple for Byzantium* (London, 1989). Juliana's palace, τὰ Ἰουλιανῆς, is mentioned in *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, 517, and its location next to St. Polyeuktos is indicated by Gregory of Tours, *De gloria martyrum*, *PL* 71, cols. 793–5, reproduced with translation by Harrison, *Saraçhane*, I, 8–9.

<sup>17</sup> J. Pargoire, "À propos de Boradion," *BZ* 12 (1903), 486–7; *PLRE* I, 750–1 (Flavius Promotus).

<sup>18</sup> See *PLRE* II, 408–9, 888–9, 1308–9 (Stemmata).

a smaller one erected by Eudocia.<sup>19</sup> We do not know exactly when this earlier structure was built, although we may presume that Eudocia started work on it before she left Constantinople in 441 to go and live in Palestine, where she remained until her death in 460.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the most likely moment is the interval following her return from her first pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 439. The dedication to St. Polyeuktos is a mystery, for although, as Marlia Mango has pointed out, this Mesopotamian martyr was the patron saint of Eudocia's spiritual father Euthymios,<sup>21</sup> she did not come under Euthymios' influence until 455, long after she had left Constantinople.<sup>22</sup> One might then have to suppose that the church was originally dedicated to some other saint, a possibility to which we shall return. As for the choice of location, this is most easily explained if the church was built on land to which Eudocia had some kind of proprietary right and facility of access. Since the church was later adjoined by the residence of her great-granddaughter Anicia Juliana, we need have little hesitation in identifying this house, *ta Ioulianes*, with the *domus* of Eudocia in the tenth region.

St. Polyeuktos was not the only church in the tenth region to which Juliana inherited an interest from her Theodosian ancestors. Another epigram in the Palatine Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* I 12)<sup>23</sup> celebrates the building and decoration of the church of St. Euphemia at *ta Olybriou* by a trinity of noblewomen over three generations: Eudoxia Licinia, daughter of Theodosius II;<sup>24</sup> her daughter Placidia along with her husband Olybrius;<sup>25</sup> and their daughter Anicia Juliana, who was evidently responsible for the decorative phase in which the epigram was inscribed. It is interesting that although the property bore the name of Olybrius, who had no doubt resided there, the initiative in building the church was apparently taken by his mother-in-law. This and the fact that Olybrius came from a Roman senatorial

<sup>19</sup> Ed. H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca* (Munich, 1957), I, 126–30; text reproduced with English translation by Harrison, *Saragane*, I, 6–7.

<sup>20</sup> For Eudocia in the east, see also E. D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, A.D. 312–460* (Oxford, 1982), 221–48.

<sup>21</sup> Review of Martin Harrison, *A Temple for Byzantium*, in *Apollo* (February 1991), 136.

<sup>22</sup> Cyril of Scythopolis, *Life of Euthymius*, ed. E. Schwartz, *Kyrrillos von Skythopolis, Texte und Untersuchungen* 49 (Leipzig, 1939), 47–9, §30; cf. A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, III/1 (Paris, 1962), 101–3.

<sup>23</sup> Ed. Beckby, I, 130–2.

<sup>24</sup> *PLRE* II, 410–1 (Licinia Eudoxia 2).

<sup>25</sup> *PLRE* II, 886 (Placidia 1); for Olybrius, see above note 15.

family with no previous Constantinopolitan connections suggest that the property had belonged to the Theodosian family and had come to him through his marriage to Placidia, the daughter of Eudoxia Licinia and Valentinian III. The reason Olybrius' name rather than theirs became attached to it was probably that he reached Constantinople ahead of them in 455, when he fled there to escape the Vandal attack on Rome, leaving Eudoxia and Placidia to enjoy six or seven years of Vandal hospitality in North Africa before the Vandal king, Geiseric, allowed them to join him. The dedication of the church underlined the Theodosian connection, as well as the family's strict Chalcedonian orthodoxy, given that it was Theodosius II's sister Pulcheria who had chosen the basilica of St. Euphemia in Chalcedon to be the venue of the Fourth Ecumenical Council in 451. *Ta Olybriou* thus probably corresponded to another of the *domus* mentioned in the *Notitia*. Of the remaining possibilities, the houses of Arcadia and Placidia, that of (Galla) Placidia seems the most likely. It was from this grandmother that the wife of Olybrius inherited her name; Galla Placidia it was, too, who as daughter of Theodosius I and mother of Valentinian III provided Olybrius with the claim to the western empire which he gained through his marriage and which he finally exercised in 472. The house of Placidia was therefore the most fitting residence for a western Roman emperor in waiting.

At some time between its foundation and 518, St. Euphemia at *ta Olybriou* became home to a monastic community.<sup>26</sup> We may reasonably connect this development with the deaths of Olybrius and Placidia, and conclude that when the monks moved in, Anicia Juliana moved out of this, her parents' home, into the palace adjoining the church of St. Polyeuktos which she had inherited from her great-grandmother Eudocia. That the two houses were fairly close together is clear from the *De cerimoniis*: St. Euphemia was the first stop after St. Polyeuktos on the processional route returning from the Holy Apostles to the Great Palace.<sup>27</sup> However, the two properties do not seem to have adjoined, because the *De cerimoniis* also specifies that when the emperor goes up to the Holy Apostles on Easter Monday, the cortège, after bearing right at the Philadelphion, proceeds "by way of *ta Olybriou* and the Constantianae to St. Polyeuktos,"<sup>28</sup> where

<sup>26</sup> See *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* III, ed. E. Schwartz (Berlin, 1940), 69.

<sup>27</sup> *De cer.*, 50.

<sup>28</sup> *De cer.*, 75: διὰ τε τῶν Ὀλυβρίων καὶ τῶν Κωνσταντιανῶν μέχρι τοῦ ἁγίου Πολυεύκτου.

there is a halt for the emperor to light a new taper for the last leg of the journey. Unless this itinerary involved a detour from the Mese, which is unlikely, the description seems to indicate that between St. Euphemia and St. Polyeuktos, the avenue traversed or, more probably, flanked a section of the Constantianae. Whether this refers specifically to the Baths of Constantius or, more generally, to the neighborhood, is not clear, but it is conceivable that the two churches, and therefore the residences which preceded them, were separated by a space large enough to accommodate a major structure, perhaps another aristocratic residence, such as the house of Arcadia in the tenth region.

This can only be conjecture, but the conjecture is not completely unfounded, because there is reason to believe that the religious and proprietary interests of Anicia Juliana in the region extended to the Constantianae. The indication comes from the confused tradition concerning the translation of the relics of St. Stephen and the foundation of his church in the Constantianae.<sup>29</sup> From the *Synaxarion* and *Typikon* of the Great Church it is evident that by the tenth century at the latest, the church at the Constantianae was the most important *martyreion* of the protomartyr in Constantinople, for this was where his two main feasts were celebrated: the anniversary of his martyrdom on 27 December, and the anniversary of the translation and deposition of his relics on 2 August.<sup>30</sup> The *Typikon* states that the procession on 27 December came from the Great Church via the Forum, while that of 2 August set off from the *martyreion* of St. Stephen at the Zeugma,<sup>31</sup> a location beside the Golden Horn in the area of the modern Unkapanı.<sup>32</sup> The procession of 2 August thus

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<sup>29</sup> The most useful discussion of the origin of the cult of St. Stephen in Constantinople is J. Wortley, "The Trier Ivory Reconsidered," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 21 (1980), 381–94, unfortunately overlooked in the interesting study by I. Kalavrezou, "Helping Hands for the Empire: Imperial Ceremonies and the Cult of Relics at the Byzantine Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. Maguire (Washington, D.C., 1997), 57–67. Wortley argues plausibly that Pulcheria did not bring the right hand of St. Stephen to Constantinople in 421 or found the palace chapel dedicated to him, but rather that the legend of the translation recorded by Theophanes (*sub anno* 5920: Theoph., 86–7) was invented to explain the transformation of a secular crowning place into a palace chapel.

<sup>30</sup> *Syn. CP*, cols. 349–50, 861–4.

<sup>31</sup> J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, I (Rome, 1962), 162, 358.

<sup>32</sup> This seems clear from all the evidence assembled by G. Prinzing and P. Speck, "Fünf Lokaltäten in Konstantinopel," in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck, *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia* 14 (Munich, 1973), 179–227, esp. 182ff., and reviewed by A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos* (Bonn, 1988), 486–7, who rightly interprets the name in relation to the crossing of the Golden

retraced the route of the original translation ceremony, as described in the legend of the arrival of the relics from Jerusalem. A shortened version of this legend is given in the *Synaxarion*; two longer versions were published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus.<sup>33</sup> They all tell essentially the same story. After the body of St. Stephen had miraculously come to light and been magnificently rehoused in a church in Jerusalem, a rich senator called Alexander had arranged for himself to be buried beside the martyr. Some years after his death, his widow Juliana obtained permission from the emperor to remove her late husband's remains to Constantinople. By the time the coffin arrived at the Bosphoros after an eventful journey, it was obvious that Juliana had removed the wrong body and that St. Stephen had miraculously substituted himself for her husband. She explained everything to the emperor Constantine, who sent a Jew to verify the Hebrew inscription on the coffin. Fully satisfied, Constantine ordered the relics to be conveyed to the imperial palace. They were disembarked "in the Zeugma, at the Staurion"<sup>34</sup> and transferred to a carriage. When the carriage reached the Constantianae, the mules that were pulling it, restrained by a higher power, refused to go any further. In deference to the saint's wishes, a church was built on the spot to house his remains.

The introduction of Constantine, who reigned a century before the discovery of St. Stephen's relics in 415, lends the narrative a somewhat surreal quality, especially in the version which correctly dates the *inventio* to the consulships of Honorius and Theodosius II.<sup>35</sup> Unpicking the threads of fact from the tissue of fantasy is not easy. However, we can be reasonably sure that there is a strand of truth in the description of the *translatio* from the Zeugma to the Constantianae, and that the rest of the narrative is largely woven around this reality, in order to explain the annual procession and the existence of the two churches which marked the beginning and end of

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Horn, as "Übersetzstelle". I am not aware of any text which supports the statement of Mango, *Développement*, 17, that "la crête de la vallée à l'emplacement de l'aqueduc, ainsi qu'une partie de la pente qui descend vers la Corne d'Or, étaient appelées Zeugma par les Byzantins." This identification seems to derive from the supposed proximity of the Zeugma to the Constantianae which, I argue below, is unfounded.

<sup>33</sup> A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυλογίας*, V (St. Petersburg, 1888; repr. Brussels, 1963), 28-73.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 45: ἐν τῷ Ζεύγματι, εἰς τὸ Σταυρίον.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

the route. And, on the principle that it is easier to create a story out of pre-existing elements than *ex nihilo*, we may suggest that the name of the main agent in the *translatio* was not plucked out of thin air. At the beginning of this century, Pargoire identified the Juliana of the legend with Anicia Juliana.<sup>36</sup> He found confirmation, firstly in another tradition, recorded in the *Patria*, attributing the building of the church at Constantianae to the imperial couple Anastasius and Ariadne (491–515),<sup>37</sup> and secondly in the fact that Anicia Juliana's ancestor, the empress Eudocia, had built the *martyreion* of St. Stephen at Jerusalem. Pargoire confidently assumed that Juliana had inherited some right of patronage to this church which she used in order to transfer the saint's relics to Constantinople. But this is taking speculation too far; it is also to overlook the well-attested role of Eudocia herself in promoting the cult of St. Stephen at Constantinople. The chronicle of Marcellinus Comes records under the year 439 that "Eudocia, the wife of the emperor Theodosius, returned from Jerusalem to the imperial city, bringing with her the relics of the most blessed Stephen, the first martyr, which were placed in the basilica of St. Laurence where they are venerated."<sup>38</sup> There are problems with this information. Firstly, the church of St. Laurence at Pulcherianae was founded by Eudocia's chief rival in the imperial family, her sister-in-law Pulcheria. Secondly, the church was not completed, according to Marcellinus, until 453,<sup>39</sup> and the dedication to St. Laurence is unlikely to have occurred before the arrival of his relic from Rome, probably as a gift from Pope Leo I in connection with the negotiations leading to the Council of Chalcedon in 451.<sup>40</sup> Thirdly, it is hard to believe that Eudocia had not destined the relics of the protomartyr Stephen for a church of his own which she had built or intended

<sup>36</sup> Pargoire, "À propos de Boradion," 488–90.

<sup>37</sup> *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 236–7.

<sup>38</sup> Ed. Th. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae historica. Auctorum antiquissimorum*, XI, 39–108: reproduced with English translation by B. Croke, *The Chronicle of Marcellinus* (Sydney, 1995), at p. 17.

<sup>39</sup> Croke, *Marcellinus*, 21.

<sup>40</sup> See K. Ciggaar, "Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais," *REB* 34 (1976), 259, §45: "*sancti Laurentii . . . calvicium quod misit sanctus Papa Leo ad imperatores Marcianum et Pulcheriam.*" Although the source is late (11th c.), it is likely to be as reliable as the addition to Theodore Anagnostes (*PG* 86, col. 216) which states that St. Laurence's relic was deposited under Theodosius II. Even if the latter information is preferred, a date close to 450 is suggested by the fact that Sozomen does not mention St. Laurence in connection with Pulcheria's piety and patronage.



to build, and this is where the original dedication of the church of St. Polyeuktos comes into question. Without getting into further speculation, it seems fairly certain that the relics of St. Stephen were at the church of St. Laurence by the late fifth century, when Anicia Juliana had come of age and was in a position to think about completing the pious projects of her female imperial forebears. I suggest, therefore, that it was Anicia Juliana who had the relics relocated to a new, purpose-built church at the Constantianae during the reign of Anastasius and Ariadne. This suggestion not only reconciles the evidence of the *translatio*, the *Patria* and the chronicle of Marcellinus Comes; it also has the merit of explaining why the relics were conveyed via the Zeugma and not, as one might expect, along the Mese. The Zeugma made no sense as a disembarkation point for a procession to the imperial palace, and we can safely assume that this was never the intended place of deposition. But even for a deposition at the Constantianae, the Zeugma was not the most obvious choice of entry point for the *adventus* of an important relic coming from the east via (in one version) Chalcedon.<sup>41</sup> The Chalcedonian landing stage, at the east end of the Golden Horn,<sup>42</sup> or either of the harbors on the Marmara shore, or even one of the gates in the land walls would have been equally suitable, if not more so, since they would have involved a much more effective use of the city's ceremonial space. On the other hand, the Zeugma lay half-way along the direct route from the Pulcherianae to the Constantianae, at the point where the route turned inland; whether one came by boat and by road, or only by road, it was the ideal place to break the journey, and the obvious place to allow for the public veneration of relics being carried in procession.

Any attempt to explain the hagiographical legend of St. Stephen's *translatio* to Constantinople is bound to raise further questions. If the hagiographer had real information, where did he find it? Did he distort it knowingly or unknowingly, and if knowingly, was the distortion meant to serve a political or ideological agenda? It is not hard to think of answers to these questions, but however we answer them, we may tentatively include the church of St. Stephen at Constantianae among the many and splendid pious foundations of Anicia Juliana

<sup>41</sup> Ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 44.

<sup>42</sup> The *scala Chalcedonensis* (*Notitia CP*, 234; Berger, "Regionen und Straßen," 364) was used for the translation of relics to the Great Church in 407 and 415: *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, 569, 572.

which had preceded the rebuilding of St. Polyeuktos, according to the fulsome insistence of the famous dedicatory epigram. "For where is it not possible to see that Juliana has raised up a fine temple to the saints? . . . Even you do not know how many houses dedicated to God your hand has made; for you alone, I think, have built innumerable temples throughout the world, always revering the servants of the heavenly God."<sup>43</sup> If we can accept this, we may not find it too difficult to accept the idea that Juliana, as the sole survivor of the Theodosian imperial line, inherited all the Theodosian properties in the tenth region of Constantinople; the house of her childless great-great-aunt Arcadia as well as the houses of her great-grandmothers Eudocia and Placidia. Since the churches of St. Euphemia and St. Polyeuktos stood on either side of the Constantianae, and the church of St. Stephen was in the Constantianae, we may further regard it as likely that the three properties formed a single bloc along the north-east side of the northern branch of the Mese.

While on the subject of the Constantianae, it may be useful to clear up a misconception which persists in the secondary literature and continues to generate topographical confusion. The misconception concerns the locations known as *to Staurion* and *ta Konsta* or *ta Konstantos*. The name Staurion was applied to two locations in Constantinople. One, recorded in the *Patria*, was a courtyard near the Artopoleia, just off the Mese to the west of the Forum of Constantine; the name was derived from a cross set on a column which A. Berger has not implausibly identified with the column of Phokas near the church of the Forty Martyrs.<sup>44</sup> The other Staurion was the place at the Zeugma where the relic of St. Stephen was disembarked according to the legend of his *translatio*, and where tradition placed the burial of the local martyr St. Akakios.<sup>45</sup> The spot was also marked, presumably, by a cross set on a column, in an open space near the waterfront and close to the church of St. Akakios at the Heptaskalon, one of the oldest in Constantinople; this Staurion cannot therefore have been far from the agora which Procopius mentions to the west of the church, and which Berger has plausibly identified with the market known as the Leomakellon.<sup>46</sup> The problem

<sup>43</sup> *Anth. Pal.* I 10, tr. Harrison, *Saragane*, I, 7.

<sup>44</sup> *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 185; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 316–7.

<sup>45</sup> *AASS*, May II, 762–6.

<sup>46</sup> *Proc.*, *De aed.*, I.4.26; A. Berger, "Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit," *IstMitt* 45 (1995), 153.

is to decide which of these two Stauria is the one referred to in the *Life of St. Stephen the Younger* as the place near which the parents of the saint lived in certain “goodly-sized dwellings” (εὐμεγέθεις οἰκίαι) known as *ta Kónsta*.<sup>47</sup> G. Prinzing and P. Speck, in an old but still much cited study,<sup>48</sup> took the reference to be to the Staurion at the Zeugma, on the grounds that the entry on St. Stephen the Younger in the *Synaxarion* describes his parents as “having their residence in the locality of the Zeugma, not far from the church of the protomartyr and archdeacon Stephen.”<sup>49</sup> Prinzing and Speck accordingly equated *ta Kónsta* with the Constantianae. However, quite apart from the objection that the Constantianae were not exactly at the Zeugma, but lay on the other side of the hill,<sup>50</sup> it is clear that the authors have confused two different Saints Stephen the Younger, who have separate notices in the *Synaxarion*. The more famous of the two, the martyr to the cause of icons put to death by Constantine V in 765, was commemorated on 28 November at the *martyreion* of St. Stephen at *ta Kónsta*, exactly where his *vita* locates his parental home; the other Stephen, whose parents resided at the Zeugma, lived from 829 to 902 (or 839–912) and was commemorated on 9 December. Furthermore, from the description of the location of *ta Kónsta* in the *Life* of the eighth-century saint, it is clear that this could not have been at the Zeugma: the complex lay on the downslope of the public avenue, downhill from the Staurion.<sup>51</sup> As we have seen, the Staurion at the Zeugma was at sea level, right beside the Golden Horn, in a part of the city where there was no public avenue. *Ta Kónsta* therefore has nothing to do with the Constantianae, and must be sought on the Mese between the Fora of Constantine and Theodosius. That it lay on the avenue is confirmed by the evidence for its later history. In the tenth century, part of it became the house of Gregoras Iberitzes;<sup>52</sup> in 1081, when the Komnenoi entered Constantinople in their coup d'état against Nikephoros III Botaneiates, they

<sup>47</sup> Ed. and tr. M.-F. Auzépy, *La Vie d'Étienne le Jeune par Étienne le Diacre* (Aldershot, 1997), §3, pp. 91 (text), 182 (translation): πρὸς τὸ τῆς βασιλικῆς λεωφόρου πρᾶνῆς ἐν ᾧ ἀνίδρυται καὶ ἐπιλέγεται τὸ Σταυρίον, ἐξ οὗπερ πρὸς τὸ κάταντες μέρος εἰσὶν εὐμεγέθεις οἰκίαι προσαγορευόμεναι τὰ Κόνστα (my italics).

<sup>48</sup> Prinzing—Speck, “Fünf Lokalitäten,” 182 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *Syn. CP*, col. 291: τὰς οἰκήσεις ποιούμενοι ἐν τῇ τοποθεσίᾳ τοῦ Ζεύγματος, οὐ μακρὰν τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ θείου πρωτομάρτυρος καὶ ἀρχιδιακόνου Στεφάνου.

<sup>50</sup> See above, note 28.

<sup>51</sup> See above, note 47.

<sup>52</sup> *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 149–50.

proceeded from the Adrianople Gate to the Great Palace via the Deuteron and the “house of Iberitzes.”<sup>53</sup> It is also clear from Anna Komnene’s account of the episode that this building must have been to the west of the Forum of Constantine.<sup>54</sup>

Returning now to the Theodosian residences, and moving on to the eleventh region, we have much less to go on in trying to locate the *domus* of Pulcheria and the *palatium Flaccillianum*. However, there are some possible clues. The column of Marcian, marking the site of the Forum that he laid out between the Holy Apostles and St. Polyuktos, might indicate the proximity of the residence belonging to his virgin wife Pulcheria.<sup>55</sup> As for the palace of Flaccilla, it is surely significant that this remained, well into the sixth century, a functioning imperial palace, complete with a wardrobe of imperial insignia, which the Nika rioters of 532 used to proclaim Hypatius emperor. It was one of two palaces, and the only one within the Constantinian wall, which offered the insurgents a basis for opposing Justinian in the Great Palace.<sup>56</sup> This fact prompts us to ask whether the building might not feature, albeit anonymously, somewhere in the *De cerimoniis*. Here there is only one possible candidate: the palace attached to the church of the Holy Apostles, which the *Notitia* definitely situates in the eleventh region. When the emperor goes to the Holy Apostles on Easter Monday, he repairs at the end of the liturgy ἐν τῷ θεοφυλάκτῳ παλατίῳ, ἤγουν τῷ ὄντι ἐκεῖσε, where after a short rest in the bedchamber (κοιτῶνι) he joins the patriarch for lunch in the dining hall (ἐν τῷ τρικλίνῳ).<sup>57</sup> On the feasts of Constantine and Helen and All Saints, the services similarly terminate with a meal at the *palatia* next to the Holy Apostles.<sup>58</sup> The palace had its own courtyard.<sup>59</sup> The emperors changed their vestments both on arrival at the church,<sup>60</sup> and on departure from the palace,<sup>61</sup> which suggests that

<sup>53</sup> Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, II.12.1, ed. B. Leib, I (Paris, 1937), 98.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, II.12.4: while the Komnenoi, at the house of Iberitzes, were negotiating with an envoy of Nikephoros Botaneiates, who was at the Great Palace, Botaneiates’ minister Boril deployed troops between the Milion and the Forum of Constantine.

<sup>55</sup> Mango, *Développement*, 46.

<sup>56</sup> Proc., BP, I.24.30; *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. Dindorf, 624. The other palace was that of the Helenianae.

<sup>57</sup> *De cer.*, 79.

<sup>58</sup> *De cer.*, 534–5, 538.

<sup>59</sup> *De cer.*, 533.32.

<sup>60</sup> *De cer.*, 532.21–533.1.

<sup>61</sup> *De cer.*, 80.10–15. These appear to be different from the robes the emperor wears on leaving the Great Palace: cf. *ibid.*, 72.7–15.

the palace kept a change of ceremonial attire, along with a large dinner service, presumably of silver, for holding formal banquets.

All the locations suggested above are hypothetical, but in each case the hypothesis follows the lead of the only positive information supplied by the evidence. There are simply no alternatives to choose from. In two cases, the hypothesis involves a degree of imprecision; thus there is nothing to indicate whether the house of Arcadia might have been to the north or to the south of the aqueduct, or whether the house of Pulcheria might have been to the north or the south of the Forum of Marcian. But if all five houses had occupied the northern side of the Mese from the Holy Apostles to the Philadelphion, they would have shared two of the principal advantages which had surely determined Constantine's choice of the location for his mausoleum: easy access from the avenue, and proximity to the city's main supply of fresh water.

At the very least, I hope to have established that well known sources still have much to tell us about the evolution of Constantinople in the fifth century from a mosaic of *domus* to a mosaic of churches. The foregoing discussion should also have pointed to the need for more work on the role of imperial women in the configuration of the Theodosian city, and in the promotion of martyr cults, especially in the western urban area. Finally, it should have emerged that the pattern of aristocratic residence in this part of the Theodosian city may have something to tell us about the city of Constantine. The development of the area between the aqueduct and the northern branch of the Mese went back to Constantine and Constantius II, who clearly recognized the advantage of tapping into the water supply as soon as it entered the city. We should particularly note the role of Constantius II in adding to his father's investment: he not only added the church of the Holy Apostles to the complex surrounding his father's mausoleum, but also began the construction of a new public bath, the Constantianae, further down the hill. The Constantianae were the first big public bath complex to be built outside the area of ancient Byzantium. Where the emperors had led others followed, and the *Life of Olympias* shows that other members of the elite were moving into the area well before the end of the fourth century. As we have seen, Olympias' house near the Baths of Constantius was her preferred urban residence. Olympias was the granddaughter of Ablabius, the Praetorian Prefect of the East under Constantine and Constantius whose position was such that he entertained designs

on the throne.<sup>62</sup> It is likely that she inherited the house from him. It is also far from unlikely that, since she died without issue, this house became imperial property and passed into the possession of a member of the Theodosian family—possibly Galla Placidia, who, we may note in passing, acquired the house of Ablabius near the Great Palace.

Did Constantius II himself have a residence at Constantianae? The author of the *Patria* clearly thought this was how the neighborhood had acquired its name, for in the legend of the city's foundation which had crystallized by the tenth century, we read that Constantine "built palaces in the names of his (three) sons, which are called Konstantianai and *ta Konstantos*."<sup>63</sup> While this explanation was no doubt the ignorant invention of a later age when the Baths of Constantius had ceased to function and all large ancient ruins tended to be described as *palatia*, it may contain a grain of intuitive truth. *Ta Konsta* or *ta Konstantos* must have taken its name from the house of an important person called Constans. This could have been the early fifth-century Flavius Constans, *magister militum per Thracias* in 412 and consul in 414,<sup>64</sup> but it could equally have been Constantine's son. If so, the topography of his house has interesting implications. We have established that *ta Konsta* lay on the Mese half-way between the Capitol and the Forum of Constantine, just as the Constantianae lay on the northern branch of the avenue, roughly equidistant from the Capitol and Constantine's mausoleum. Is it without significance that the point where the two stretches of avenue met and joined the third, south-western branch, was marked by a monument called the Philadelphion, a monument wishfully celebrating the brotherly love of Constantine's three sons?

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<sup>62</sup> *PLRE* I, 3–4 (Flavius Ablabius 4).

<sup>63</sup> *Patria*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 149–50.

<sup>64</sup> *PLRE* II, 311 (Constans 3).



SECTION TWO

IMPERIAL AND RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES





CHAPTER FIVE  
IMPERIAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL  
PROCESSIONS IN CONSTANTINOPLE

Albrecht Berger

Imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Byzantine Constantinople played an important role in the public life of their time. We are relatively well informed about these processions from a number of sources, but since our knowledge of the Byzantine street system is rather limited, the routes on which they went through the city are not always clear.

At the time of the foundation of Constantinople in 324, a number of overland roads already existed outside of Byzantium, which continued to be in use when the city was enlarged, first by Constantine and then by Theodosius. The most important of these is the Mese; it actually formed the eastern end of the old Roman road across the Balkan peninsula which terminated at the gate of old Byzantium, and which was subsequently provided with porticoes on both sides. Another road branched off the Mese to the north-west at the place where the Capitol was built under Constantine. It is probable that the two coastal roads along the shores of the Sea of Marmara and the Golden Horn also date back to the time before the refoundation. These streets were more important for traffic—and, as we shall see, for processions—than any of those built later. All public places of Constantinople outside the old town, for example, were built along the Mese or its south-western and north-western branches. One of the reasons for this is that these old roads were built on a hill top or on the flank of a hill so that they were relatively flat and suitable for travel by carriage. By contrast, many of the streets which were built later in the new residential quarters of Constantinople lay on steep slopes to both sides of the Mese and elsewhere, and a number of them were even equipped with stairs, as some sources state.

Besides these main streets, a number of regular grill-shaped street systems were established in different parts of Constantinople. The first of these within the old town of Byzantium can be reconstructed

from the alignment of the Hippodrome, Hagia Sophia and other buildings. After the foundation of Constantinople in 324, first a new quarter overlooking the Golden Horn was built. The main streets in it ran from south to north; among them was the so-called *makros embolos*, the “long portico,” whose successor still bears the name *Uzunçarşı Caddesi*, i.e. the “street of the long market.” The remaining part of the city up to the Constantinian wall was provided since about 380 with a new street grid oriented from south-west to north-east, which can be reconstructed from the position of the gates in the sea walls and from the old passages through the aqueduct. I have tried to reconstruct the streets of early Constantinople elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> But since that attempt remains highly hypothetical and has little to do with the problem of processional routes, the sketch here shows only those streets whose existence is well attested by literary or archaeological evidence.

For the physical reasons already mentioned, most of the processions through Constantinople in the early and middle Byzantine periods moved along the colonnaded main streets, and entered into the residential quarters in between only in order to reach certain churches that were situated there. A striking difference between processions in Constantinople and those in Rome is that in Constantinople normally the same route was used on the way to a church and back, since it was usually the only reasonable one to travel on, whereas in Rome processions mostly followed a circular itinerary in which a number of churches were touched.<sup>2</sup> The only street built after the foundation of Constantinople which was used regularly for processions is the *makros embolos*, as it formed the main connection between the Mese and the Golden Horn shore.

Our most important sources for these processions, namely the *Typikon* of Hagia Sophia<sup>3</sup> and the *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus,<sup>4</sup> both date from the tenth century. The *Typikon* is from the beginning of the century; it lists the ecclesiastical celebrations and processions in which the clergy of the patriarchate took part, and does this as usual in separate lists for the days of the year

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<sup>1</sup> A. Berger, “Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel,” *IstMitt* 47 (1997), 349–414.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. J. F. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship*, OCA 228 (Rome, 1987), 143–66.

<sup>3</sup> J. Mateos, *Le typicon de la Grande Église*, 2 vols., OCA 165–166 (Rome, 1962–63).

<sup>4</sup> *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, ed. J. J. Reiske (Bonn, 1829).

and the mobile feasts. The *Book of Ceremonies* is some decades younger; it contains a large number of protocols describing the ceremonies of the imperial court, only part of which, however, reflect the actual customs of the time, the rest having found their way into the collection by historical interest. The emperor's duties included his presence not only at ceremonies of the state, but also at those of the church, among them ecclesiastical processions on major holidays. However, if we compare the protocols of the *Typikon* and the *Book of Ceremonies* for processions on identical days, we notice remarkable differences between them, which is something peculiar if we consider how close in time the two documents are.

The great processions on major holidays were performed under the personal direction of the patriarch and usually started at Hagia Sophia. The *Typikon* mentions most of the time only the final destination of the procession, and, as the only station in between, the Forum of Constantine. It is, in a certain sense, remarkable that ecclesiastical ceremonies were held on the Forum which had been built by the founder of the city in his own honor,<sup>5</sup> for, as we all know, Constantine's statue stood there on his column in the shape of *Sol Invictus*, with a globe and a spear in each hand respectively, wearing a radiate crown. In the early Byzantine period, when the difference between state ceremonies and ceremonies of the church was still quite visible, the Forum of Constantine was apparently reserved for the former, as, for instance, the commemoration of the foundation of Constantinople on 11 May.<sup>6</sup> In the late ninth century a small chapel was built on the Forum, at the base of the column of Constantine, who meanwhile had become something like a saint himself, and it was probably only after this time that the place came to be used as a proper station for ecclesiastical processions.<sup>7</sup> In the *Typikon* of Hagia Sophia the way to the Forum constitutes a steady part in most processions, and we frequently encounter the case of a procession going to the Forum and returning to Hagia Sophia or another church in the vicinity.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Cf. G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris, 1974), 37–40; R. Leeb, *Konstantin und Christus* (Berlin-New York, 1992), 12–7.

<sup>6</sup> Dagron, *Naissance*; A. Berger, *Untersuchungen zu den Patria Konstantinupoleos*, *Poikila byzantina* 8 (Bonn, 1988), 552–5; P. Speck, "Urbs, quam Deo donavimus," *Boreas* 18 (1995), 143–73, esp. 168–73.

<sup>7</sup> On this, see Janin, *Églises*, 306.

<sup>8</sup> Back to Hagia Sophia: Mateos, *Typikon*, I, 144, 158, 248–50, 288, 300; to the

The church that was visited most frequently from Hagia Sophia was the Chalkoprateia church nearby.<sup>9</sup> This may be because it was the next church dedicated to the Mother of God when coming from the patriarchate and the Great Palace, whose age and size made it a suitable ending point for a procession. Some of the processions to this church went there directly, others via the Forum of Constantine as mentioned before.<sup>10</sup>

Another important termination point for ecclesiastical processions was the church of the Holy Apostles, whose distance from Hagia Sophia is nearly four kilometers.<sup>11</sup> On rare occasions the processions went a longer way—for example, to the monastery of Pege or to the military center at the seventh milestone, the so-called Hebdomon.<sup>12</sup> But it must be stated that this latter route of more than ten kilometers is the longest known that the clergy was supposed to walk.

Only few of the processions that are described in the *Typikon* started off somewhere other than Hagia Sophia. On the day of the apostles Peter and Paul (29 June), for example, the celebrations began with a service in the orphanage of their church situated on the old Acropolis. Then, a procession went from there to Hagia Sophia and back.<sup>13</sup> On the day of St. Stephen, on 2 August, the procession started at the Zeugma on the Golden Horn shore, and went uphill to the aqueduct where the saint was buried in his church close to the palace of Konstantianai.<sup>14</sup> The special route of this procession is explained by the fact that it reproduced the original route of the translation of Stephen's relics: The ship that transported the relics to Constantinople landed at the Zeugma, from where they were intended to be taken to the church of the Holy Apostles. But when the mules pulling the carriage with Stephen's coffin on it stopped at the palace of Konstantianai and could not be made to move any further, a church was built at this place for the saint's relics.<sup>15</sup>

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Chalkoprateia church: see the following note; to the church of St. Thekla at the harbor of Sophia: Mateos, *Typikon*, I, 42; to the church of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos: *ibid.*, 62-4.

<sup>9</sup> See Janin, *Églises*, 237-42; Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 411-7.

<sup>10</sup> Mateos, *Typikon*, 20, 110, 138, 160, 252, 256.

<sup>11</sup> Mateos, *Typikon*, 70, 100, 116, 206, 210, 212-4, 258, 296, 302, 314, 344.

<sup>12</sup> To the Pege: Mateos, *Typikon*, 334 (description beginning at the church of Mokios); to the Hebdomon: *ibid.*, 282-4.

<sup>13</sup> Mateos, *Typikon*, 324.

<sup>14</sup> Mateos, *Typikon*, 358.

<sup>15</sup> See the paper of Paul Magdalino in this volume.

A similar case is the procession in memory of St. John Chrysostom on 27 January, during which the translation from the church of St. Thomas of Amantios to the Holy Apostles was repeated.<sup>16</sup> Here, however, the procession started from Hagia Sophia, went downhill on the west side of the Hippodrome, then again up to the Mese and to the church of the Holy Apostles on the usual way.

Most of the imperial processions described in the *Book of Ceremonies* took place within the Great Palace. Although this palace seems to have been accessible to everybody at least during the day, it was not a public space in the strictest sense and may therefore be excluded from consideration here.

Imperial ceremonies were of extreme importance for the Roman and Byzantine state ideology, since they functioned, in a certain sense, as a substitute for an inexistent constitution.<sup>17</sup> Whenever the emperor appeared in public in the city, this was always staged in a ceremonial fashion, and mostly with great sumptuousness. Even the short way from the Great Palace to a service in Hagia Sophia was used to display an impressive ceremony. Such an event has been recorded in 912 by Harun ibn-Yahya, an Arab prisoner of war. At this time only the southern part of the Great Palace was still inhabited,<sup>18</sup> and the usual way from there to Hagia Sophia did not lead through the slowly decaying parts in the north and the old imperial gate of Chalke, but through a gate under the emperor's box into the Hippodrome and through it to the north. We will have to excuse Harun ibn-Yahya's numerous exaggerations and inexactitudes that were produced in part by his own confusion at this experience, and in part by the regard to his Arab public at home. Harun ibn-Yahya writes,<sup>19</sup>

The Emperor commands that on his way from the Gate of the Palace to the Church for the common people, which is in the middle of the city, be spread mats and upon them there be strewn aromatic plants and green foliage, and that on the right and left of his passage the

<sup>16</sup> Mateos, *Typicon*, 212–4.

<sup>17</sup> On this, see the basic remarks by P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.* (Munich, 1978), 89.

<sup>18</sup> This can be clearly seen from a number of earlier protocols in *De ceremoniis*; only the southern part of the former area was enclosed by a wall at the time of Nikephoros II Phokas (r. 963–969); on the remains of which, see E. Mamboury and Th. Wiegand, *Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel* (Berlin, 1934), 18 f. and pl. V.

<sup>19</sup> Translation from: A. Vasiliev, "Harun ibn-Yahya and his Description of Constantinople," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 5 (1932), 158 f.

walls be adorned with brocade. Then he is preceded by 10,000 elders wearing clothes of red brocade; their hair reaches their shoulders, and they wear no upper-cloak. Then behind them come 10,000 young men wearing clothes of white brocade. All go on foot. Then come 10,000 boys wearing clothes of green brocade. Then come 10,000 servants wearing clothes of brocade of the color of the sky; in their hands they hold axes covered with gold. Behind them follow 5,000 chosen eunuchs wearing white Khorasanian clothes of half silk; in their hands they hold golden crosses. Then after them come 10,000 Turkish and Khorasanian pages wearing striped breastplates; in their hands they hold spears and shields wholly covered with gold. Then come a hundred most dignified patricians wearing clothes of colored brocade; in their hands they have gold censers perfumed with aloes. Then come twelve chief patricians wearing clothes woven with gold; each of them holds a golden rod. Then come a hundred pages wearing clothes trimmed with borders and adorned with pearls; they carry a golden case in which is the Imperial robe for the Emperor's prayer. Then in front of the Emperor comes a man called al-Ruhum who makes the people be silent and says, "Be silent." Then comes an old man holding in his hand a golden wash-basin and a golden jug adorned with pearls and rubies. Then comes the Emperor wearing his festival clothes, that is, silk clothes woven with jewels; on his head there is a crown; he wears two shoes, one of them black, the other red. The prime minister follows him. In the hand of the Emperor there is a small golden box in which is a bit of earth. He goes on foot. Whenever he makes two paces, the minister says in their own language: "Μέμνησθε τοῦ θανάτου," which means in translation, "Remember the death!" When (the minister) says this to him, the Emperor pauses, opens the box, looks at the earth, kisses it, and weeps. He proceeds in this way until he reaches the gate of the Church. Then the man presents the wash-basin and jug, and the Emperor washes his hands and says to his minister: "Truly, I am innocent of the blood of all men: let not God make me responsible for their blood, for I put it upon your neck." Then he puts the clothes which he wears upon his minister, takes the inkstand of Pilate—this is the inkstand of the man who proclaimed himself innocent of the blood of Christ; may peace be upon him!—puts it upon the neck of the minister, and says to him: "Rule justly as Pilate has ruled justly." Then they bring him about over the squares of Constantinople and proclaim: "Rule justly, as the Emperor has placed you in charge of the people's matters."

Some words of explanation: The men in their red, white, green and blue vestments are the representatives of the four circus factions. Since the emperor had the right to wear two red boots, it seems that he was represented on this occasion by a caesar, a "half-emperor," as

he is called in an earlier parallel tradition of the same report.<sup>20</sup> That the ceremonial way was decorated with flowers and brocade carpets is also well known from some protocols in the *Book of Ceremonies*.<sup>21</sup> The number of over 55,000 participants is, of course, highly exaggerated, but even if we divide all numbers by hundred, there would still have been more than five hundred persons in the procession; in other words, it would have been more than half a kilometer long. What Harun ibn-Yahya describes here is only a short procession, without ceremonial stations on the way as in the long processions through the city about which we will have to speak later.

The *Book of Ceremonies* describes a number of great processions on ecclesiastical holidays in which the emperor and the patriarch took part. As I have mentioned before, it is impossible to reconcile these reports with those in the *Typikon*, where for the same days purely ecclesiastical processions are described in which no state officials took part. There is no reason to believe that the presence of the emperor was an element that was added only in the course of the tenth century. So the differences cannot be explained simply by the slightly earlier date of the *Typikon*. The only explanation that seems plausible is that the presence of the imperial court at such processions was desirable, but not prescribed by fixed rules, and that the protocols of the *Book of Ceremonies* describe events that did not actually take place every year.

The procession of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary on 25 March may serve here as an example illustrating how different the reports are between the two sources. We read in the *Typikon* of Hagia Sophia about the liturgy at the procession of the patriarch,<sup>22</sup>

At the Forum, the Gloria is sung, and the deacon says the great intercession. Then the singers begin the same *troparion* (as before in Hagia Sophia), the procession turns back to the Chalkoprateia and sings the Gloria there.

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<sup>20</sup> V. Minorsky, "Marvazi on the Byzantines," *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, II (Brussels, 1950), 459.

<sup>21</sup> *De cer.*, 573.8–574.6.

<sup>22</sup> Mateos, *Typikon*, 274.



The *Book of Ceremonies* writes about the same day,<sup>23</sup>

The emperor walks on the Mese to the Forum, goes to the column where the chapel of St. Constantine stands, ascends the steps in front of the chapel and stands there, leaning on the right side of the balustrade. Before he ascends these steps, he gives his procession taper to the *praipositos*. The patricians and the senate members stand below at the columns, and also the members of the bodyguard stand to both sides within the Forum. The *protospatharioi* and other imperial officials stand to the right of the emperor in the midst of the Forum, and also to the left. But when the patriarch arrives with the procession, he goes along between them, and the people stand on the left of the procession on the side of the Senate House, and the orphans in the midst of the officials. And when the cross is brought up the steps to the place where the emperor stands, the emperor lights some tapers and adores the cross, and he gives them to the *praipositos*, and the latter in turn to the master of ceremonies, who puts them on the candelabrum for the procession. But the cross stands in the middle behind the emperor in front of the door of the church; the patriarch enters the church together with those that are usually with him. The remaining clergy stand below with the ordinary people to the left of the emperor. And when the intercession is finished, the emperor lights tapers and prays, and again he gives them to the *praipositos*, then he to the master of ceremonies, who puts them on the candelabrum. But the emperor goes down the steps, takes a taper from the *praipositos* and, escorted by all the aforementioned people, walks through the Antiforum to the portico at the palace of Lausus, and from there he goes to the church of the All Holy Mother of God at the Chalkoprateia.

It should be added that in case of windy weather the procession went through one of the porticoes of the Mese instead of through its center, and the whole ceremony was held in the old Senate House, which stood at the Forum but had been otherwise out of use for some centuries.<sup>24</sup>

On several occasions, the *Book of Ceremonies* describes processions during which the emperor was received at different stations by the members of the circus factions. The receptions took place at suitable points, mostly public squares or stairways, and their number on the way from the Golden Gate to the palace ranged between eight and ten.<sup>25</sup> However, there was one constant problem: that of the

<sup>23</sup> *De cer.*, 164.13–165.19.

<sup>24</sup> *De cer.*, 169.16–20.

<sup>25</sup> On the imperial triumphs on this way and the stations visited, see also M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* (Cambridge-Paris, 1986), 189–230, esp. 218 f.

long distances that had to be walked. During the Easter Monday procession to the church of the Holy Apostles, two stops were made on the way, one at the church of the Mother of God of the Diakonissa and the other at the Polyeuktos church. Here the emperor received new tapers, probably because one would not have lasted for the whole way.<sup>26</sup>

In a number of cases, already in the stage of development which is described by the *Book of Ceremonies*, the whole course has been simplified. The emperor goes out by horse, and only his journey back is staged out as a regular procession with receptions, or the other way round. In the case of the aforementioned Annunciation procession, for instance, the emperor rode back from the Chalkoprateia church to the palace and was received on the way while sitting on horseback.<sup>27</sup>

Another alternative for reducing the length of processions was to go one way by boat. In sources before the tenth century, processions that included boat trips, whether ecclesiastical or imperial, are mentioned only in cases where no other way was possible: for example, if the Bosphoros had to be crossed when the emperor returned from a campaign in Asia Minor.<sup>28</sup> In the time of the *Book of Ceremonies*, however, the picture changes, and a good example for this development is the famous procession to the Blachernai church.

The first known procession to the Blachernai church was carried out when a great famine struck Constantinople in the year 602, and it was led by the emperor Maurice personally.<sup>29</sup> Although the route followed from the palace to the Blachernai church is not described in detail, it is clear that this procession went via the Forum and the *makros embolos* to the Golden Horn shore and along it to the northwest. The procession was held on the feast of Hypapante, that is the Purification of Mary on 2 February. But whether it was actually performed at night and barefooted, as later sources state, is not certain.<sup>30</sup> In any case, his ostensive humility did not help Maurice on that day; the discontent mob threw stones at him, and he barely

<sup>26</sup> *De cer.*, 75.21–25. If Annunciation and Easter Monday fell on the same day (as was the case in 916), the first part of the procession followed the rite of the Annunciation, the second part that of Easter Monday, the church of the Diakonissa being the point of transition between the two sections: *ibid.*, 85.4–86.6.

<sup>27</sup> *De cer.*, 167.19–168.15.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. at the return of Theophilos in 837 (on the date, see McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, 146–9): *De cer.*, 504.16–19.

<sup>29</sup> Theoph., I, 265.29–266.2.

<sup>30</sup> Theophylaktos Simokattes, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1887), 291.6–25.

escaped into a house on the way. This was, indeed, the beginning of the events that led to Maurice's overthrow and violent death at the end of the same year.

We do not know what happened later to the procession. According to the *Book of Ceremonies*, the feast of Hypapante was celebrated in the palace and church at the Blachernai where the emperor would have already arrived the evening before, and in some special cases the ceremonies were preceded by a procession from the Great Palace to Hagia Sophia. In any case, the emperor travelled to the Blachernai by horse, on the same route which the procession had once followed.<sup>31</sup> Other sources tell us that a number of emperors, among them Theophilos, regularly went on horseback to the Blachernai church for prayer, or to the holy bath connected to the sanctuary.<sup>32</sup>

Then, in the late tenth century, the *Patria Konstantinoupoleos* tells us a somewhat delicate story:<sup>33</sup> At the Zeugma, close to an old brothel from Constantine I's time, there was a statue of Aphrodite on a column which had the magical power to examine girls or women suspected of having committed adultery. If such a person approached the statue and was found guilty, her dress would be lifted by a supernatural force. And the story ends with the following words: "The sister-in-law of the former *kouropalates* Iustinos [i.e. Justin II (r. 565–578)] destroyed the statue because her private parts had been shown when she had committed adultery and went by horse to the Blachernai bath, because an exceedingly strong rain had fallen, and it was impossible to go by boat." There is no doubt that all this, including the non-supernatural parts of the story, is pure invention. But the fact remains that at the time of the author the way by boat was already regarded as the normal one, and the use of horses only as an alternative in case of bad weather.

The *Book of Ceremonies* also mentions a number of imperial processions by boat leading to the Pege monastery, to the church of Kosmas and Damianos on the upper Golden Horn, to the Stoudios monastery and to the church of Panteleemon at *ta Narsou*.<sup>34</sup> In these cases, only the close entourage of the emperor went by boat; the other participants, including the patriarch, had to reach the landing pier

<sup>31</sup> *De cer.*, 147.21–156.16.

<sup>32</sup> Janin, *Églises*, 170; add. *Patria*, III.107; ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 251.

<sup>33</sup> *Patria*, II.65; ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 185–7; see Berger, *Untersuchungen*, 484–6.

<sup>34</sup> *De cer.*, 108.14–109.12, 559.15–19, 560.7–561.5, 562.7–23.

on foot before the emperor so that they would be ready to receive him there when he disembarked. The procession itself was then confined to the short route from the pier to the church in question.

When the Komnenos family decided to make the Blachernai palace their main residence in the late eleventh century, one of the results was that the traditional routes used for imperial processions had to be abandoned. Imperial triumphs were not staged anymore on the traditional way that proceeded from the Golden Gate along the Mese, touching the public squares and monuments. Instead, the emperor landed in the eastern part of the city close to the promontory which is now called the Seraglio Point (Sarayburnu), and paraded from there to Hagia Sophia, the Hippodrome and the old palace.<sup>35</sup> This way of about 1,200 meters, which is less than half the length of the old route, allowed for a more impressive concentration of decorations and cheering crowds, but it was rather uncomfortable to walk or ride on because it went steeply uphill at the beginning. It should be noted that at one triumph in 1133 not only the Turkish prisoners of war and mules bearing the booty, but also representatives of the circus factions took part in the procession in front of the emperor. This suggests that the traditional receptions performed on the way by the circus factions had been given up by this time, although the distance was certainly long enough to accommodate them. Thus the protocol of imperial triumphs had become similar to that of short ecclesiastical processions, like the procession from the old palace to Hagia Sophia described by Harun ibn-Yahya.

We may assume that the emperor henceforth went this way every time he had to attend an ecclesiastical procession to Hagia Sophia or a ceremony in the Hippodrome or in the old palace. That is, the emperor came by boat to the starting point of the procession, be it from the Asiatic shore in case he returned from a campaign, or from his residence in the Blachernai palace. The use of this imperial boat route on the Golden Horn is probably the reason why in the late Byzantine period there were two gates in the sea wall called *basilike pyle*, i.e. imperial gate. One of these was close to the pier where the emperor boarded at the Blachernai palace, the other one where he landed.<sup>36</sup> The eastern imperial gate, however, has not been identified

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<sup>35</sup> P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 238–42.

<sup>36</sup> A. M. Schneider, "Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel," *Nachrichten der Akad. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl.* 5 (1950), 68 f., 91–3.

with certainty; it may have been the former Gate of St. Barbara on the Seraglio Point, or the Gate of Eugenios close to Yahkōškü, a little bit east of the modern railway station.<sup>37</sup> The last known triumphal entry into Constantinople, this time again through the Golden Gate, was celebrated by Michael Palaiologos when he took the city back from the Latins in 1261.<sup>38</sup>

The ecclesiastical processions, in which both the emperor and the patriarch participated, were probably performed in the way described by the *Typikon* and the *Book of Ceremonies* until the late eleventh century. After this time, however, their routes must have been completely rearranged. Since the emperor set out from the Blachernai palace, whereas the residence of the patriarch was still close to Hagia Sophia, probably two independent itineraries existed simultaneously. Also, in the course of time a number of old churches that were once visited during processions had fallen into ruins;<sup>39</sup> therefore, new imperial foundations such as the Mangana and Pantokrator monasteries had to be inserted into the itineraries in their place.

We do not know how these changes evolved gradually, but we know the final stage of the development of ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople. It is described in the text usually called Pseudo-Kodinos, which was compiled around 1350.<sup>40</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos is our last source for imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople. Apparently, the protocol had been much simplified by this time. The major ecclesiastical holidays on which the emperor used to visit Hagia Sophia in the old days were now celebrated in the palace and church of the Blachernai;<sup>41</sup> the ceremonies began with the emperor's morning prayer in front of his bedroom, where a transportable templon was set up for this purpose.<sup>42</sup> The old ceremonial way through the city was used rarely; the Forum, or rather the column of Constantine that remained of it, was visited by an imperial procession once annually on the first day of the Byzantine year, and perhaps also on the city's

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<sup>37</sup> Magdalino, *Empire*, 240 prefers the gate of St. Barbara, whereas C. Mango argues for the gate of Eugenios in his unpublished paper, "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople," read at the 1998 Dumbarton Oaks Spring Symposium *Constantinople: The Fabric of the City*.

<sup>38</sup> Pachym., ed. Failler, I, 217; Gregoras, I, 87.

<sup>39</sup> One prominent example is the church of Polyeuktos that was probably destroyed in the 11th century; cf. Harrison, *Saraghane*, I, 112 f.

<sup>40</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris, 1966), 242–6.

<sup>41</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 189–241.

<sup>42</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 189.

birthday on 11 May.<sup>43</sup> The Chalkoprateia church did not exist anymore,<sup>44</sup> consequently the processions which commemorated the various days of the Mother of God went to a number of other churches such as the monastery of Lips or of Peribleptos.<sup>45</sup> The day of Hypapante was celebrated in the Blachernai church, and only the Dormition in Hagia Sophia.<sup>46</sup> The memory of Constantine and of the Apostles was still honored in the church of the Holy Apostles.<sup>47</sup> On the day of St. Demetrios, the emperor went to the new monastery of Demetrios founded by Michael Palaiologos. St. Basil was celebrated in his monastery on the Golden Horn, St. George in the Mangana, and St. John the Baptist in his monastery at Petra. Finally, the Transfiguration of Christ was commemorated in the Pantokrator monastery.<sup>48</sup>

Pseudo-Kodinos generally does not mention how the emperor went to these places, but we may suppose that he did this usually on horseback or by boat. The way to the church of the Holy Apostles probably still led through the old northern main street, but now coming from the city gate and not from downtown. Only on three occasions, when the emperor went to the Blachernai church or the monastery of Petra, we are told that he rode on horseback and was escorted by Varangian guards on foot bearing axes on their shoulders.<sup>49</sup> This suggests that such a procession did not take place on the other days, but only on the way to these two nearby sanctuaries.

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<sup>43</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 242; G. P. Majeska, *Russian Travelers to Constantinople in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, *Dumbarton Oaks Studies* 19 (Washington, D.C., 1984), 260-3 and *passim*.

<sup>44</sup> Janin, *Églises*, 238; Majeska, *Russian Travelers*, 358.

<sup>45</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 242 f.

<sup>46</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 243, 245.

<sup>47</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 245.

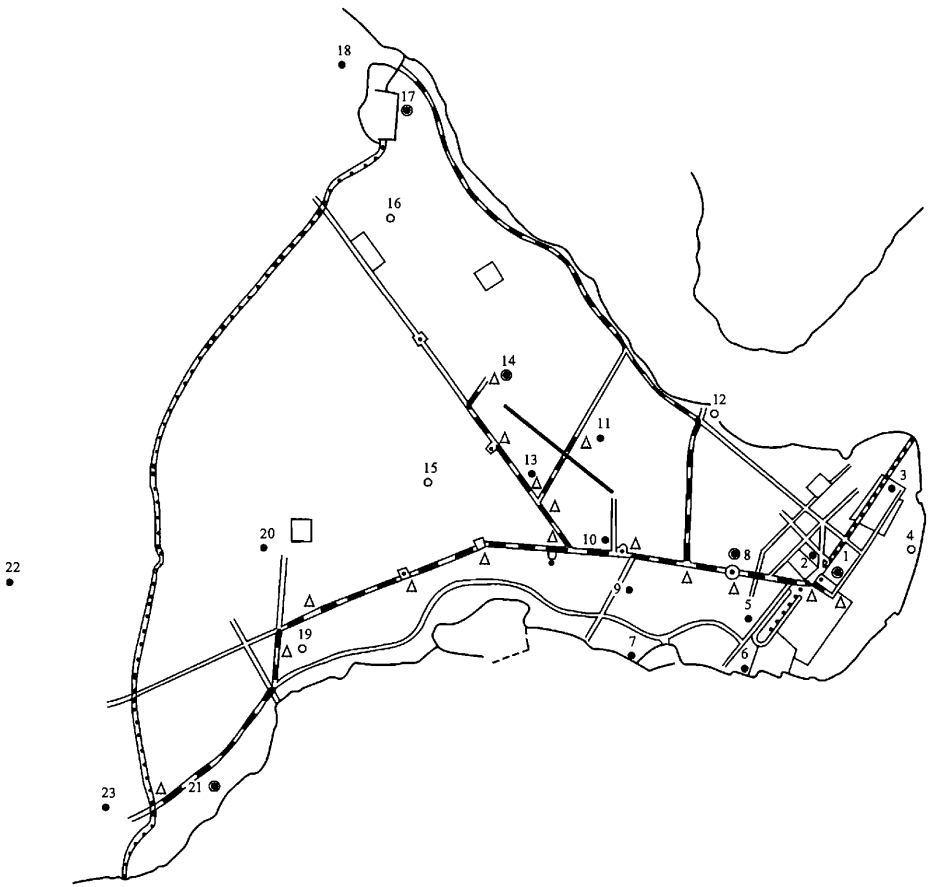
<sup>48</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 242-6.

<sup>49</sup> Pseudo-Kodinos, 244-6.

## LEGEND TO THE PLAN

- churches visited by processions in the middle Byzantine period
  - churches visited by processions in the late Byzantine period
  - ⊙ churches visited by processions at all times
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- main procession routes in the *Book of Ceremonies*
  - △ ceremonial station in the *Book of Ceremonies*
  - procession route of the twelfth century

- 1 Hagia Sophia
- 2 Church of the Mother of God at Chalkoprateia
- 3 Church of Saints Peter and Paul on the Acropolis
- 4 Monastery of Saint George of Mangana
- 5 Church of Saint Thekla
- 6 Church of Saints Sergios and Bakchos
- 7 Church of Saint Thomas of Amantios
- 8 Forum and column of Constantine
- 9 Church of Saint Panteleemon
- 10 Church of the Mother of God of the Diakonissa
- 11 Church of Saint Stephen of the Konstantianai
- 12 Monastery of Saint Basileios
- 13 Church of Saint Polyuktos
- 14 Church of the Holy Apostles
- 15 Monastery of Lips
- 16 Monastery of Saint John the Baptist at Petra
- 17 Church of the Mother of God at Blachernai
- 18 Monastery of Saints Kosmas and Damianos
- 19 Monastery of the Mother of God Peribleptos
- 20 Church of Saint Mokios
- 21 Monastery of Saint John the Baptist of Stoudios
- 22 Monastery of Pege
- 23 Hebdomon







CHAPTER SIX  
FUNERAL RITUAL IN THE PAREKKLESION  
OF THE CHORA CHURCH

Engin Akyürek

This paper aims to discuss how the parekklesion of the church of the Chora monastery in Constantinople was used by the Byzantines. More specifically, it investigates for what purpose the building was used, what the Byzantine practices were with regard to this purpose, and what ceremonies were performed in the building. Answers to these questions will be sought by examining the iconographic program of the chapel, which provides clues about the rituals performed in the parekklesion.

The church of the Chora monastery, as it survives today, was rebuilt and decorated by Theodore Metochites, the last *ktetor* of the monastery, during his restoration campaign of 1316–1321, which constitutes the fifth construction phase of the church.<sup>1</sup> The church was converted to a mosque in 1511, bearing the name Kariye Camii. Today, from the monastic complex only the church itself, together with a chapel attached to its south side, and a two-story building on the north side survive. Being a spectacular monument of the Palaiologan era, Kariye was secularized in 1945 and serves presently as one of the most interesting museums of Istanbul. The building and its decoration were restored and cleaned during 1947–1958.

The parekklesion of the Chora, attached to the south flank of the naos, was constructed entirely anew in the fourteenth century to function as a funerary chapel for the founder Metochites and others. Its plan (Fig. 1) is laid out in the form of a longitudinal, single-aisled rectangle, measuring approximately sixteen by five meters. It extends on an east-west axis as the projection of the exonarthex, from which it is separated by two columns and slightly projecting

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<sup>1</sup> For the architectural history of the building, see P. A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 3 vols. (New York, 1966), I, 8–23; R. G. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1987).

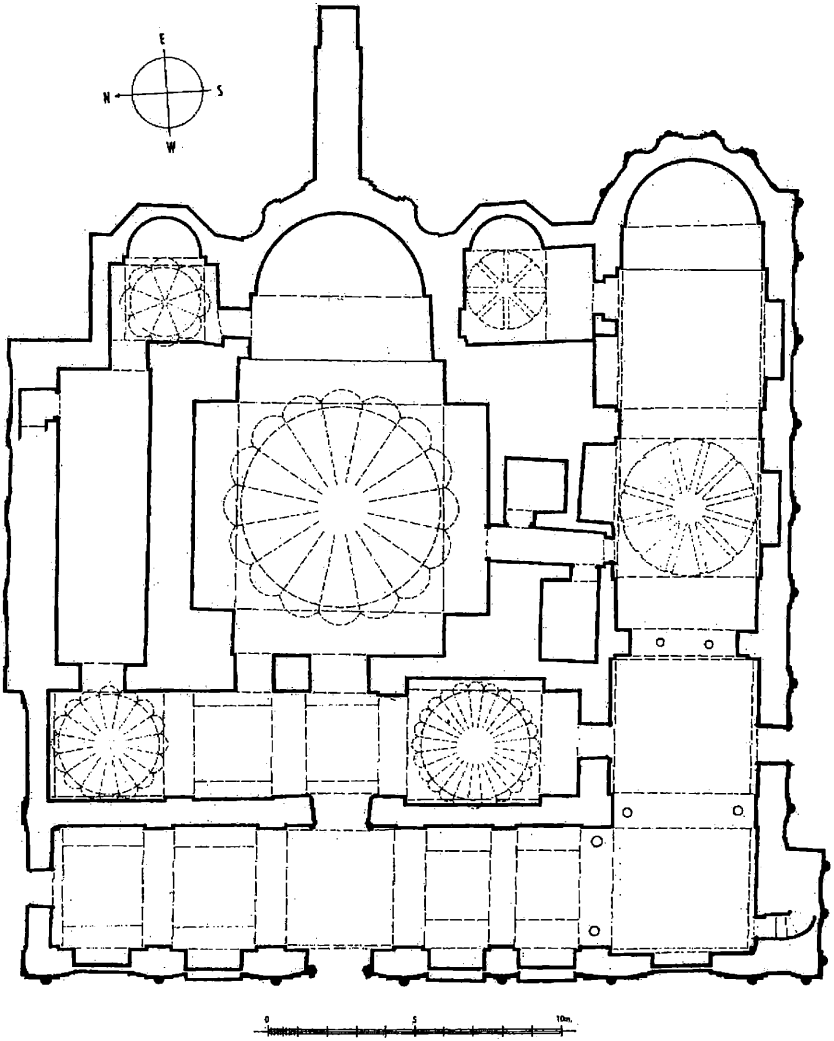


Figure 1. Plan of the Chora church and its parekklesion. After Underwood.

pilasters on each wall. The chapel is formed of two bays, almost square and equal in size, and a deep bema ending with a semi-circular apse as wide as the nave. The west bay is covered by a big dome, resting on four pendentives and a long drum with twelve window openings on it. The east bay is covered by a domical vault. The main entrance to the chapel is from the east end of the exonarthex, which encircles the building from west to south. The chapel is also connected to the naos through a narrow passageway opened on its north wall. The former opening to the naos from the diakonikon chamber of the church was blocked during the fourteenth-century constructions, thus necessitating a new access from the parekklesion to be provided. The chapel has four tomb arcosolia set in the thickness of the north and south walls, each bay enclosing two arcosolia. The largest of the four arcosolia, located in the north wall of the west bay, is generally accepted to be the tomb of Theodore Metochites.<sup>2</sup> The arcosolia originally served as enclosures for sarcophagi. Another tomb was discovered under the bema floor during the excavations of the 1950s.<sup>3</sup> The parekklesion was completely decorated in fresco.

Originally designed and decorated as a burial place, the parekklesion of the Chora church not only functioned as a shelter for the tombs, but was also used for the performance of the rituals related to death and burial. As a general principle, internal decoration, which is an indispensable component of architecture in Byzantine art, has to be considered in terms of the function of a building and evaluated accordingly. A quick overview of the iconographic program of the Chora parekklesion<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 2) reveals a close concordance between the program and the function of the building, as the chapel is dominantly decorated with scenes related to the resurrection, the after-life, and saintly intercession, which are typical themes for the burial context.<sup>5</sup> At the east end of the chapel, the monumental fresco of the Anastasis, that is Christ's harrowing of Hell, occupies the entire

<sup>2</sup> Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, II, 271; Ousterhout, *Architecture of Kariye Camii*, 59; idem, "Temporal Structuring in the Chora Parekklesion," *Gesta* 34/1 (1995), 63–76.

<sup>3</sup> Ø. Hjort, "The Sculpture of the Kariye Camii," *DOP* 33 (1979), 264; Ousterhout, *Architecture of Kariye Camii*, 60.

<sup>4</sup> See S. Der Nersessian, "Program and Iconography of the Frescoes of the Parekklesion," in *The Kariye Djami*, IV, ed. P. A. Underwood (Princeton, 1975), 305–49.

<sup>5</sup> For the further evaluation of the chapel's iconographic program in terms of its function as a burial place, see E. Akyürek, *Bizans'ta Sanat ve Ritüel. Kariye Güney Şapelinin İkonografisi ve İşlevi* (Istanbul, 1996).



Figure 2. Parekklesion of the Chora, interior seen from the entrance.

semidome of the apse and is flanked by two resurrection miracles of Christ on each side of the bema arch: on the south side the resurrection of Jarius' daughter, and on the north side the resurrection of the son of the widow from Nain. This "resurrection triangle" represents the promise of the final resurrection of the dead by Christ "at the end of time" and highlights resurrection as the major theme of the chapel that dominates the rest of the iconographic program.

The majestic composition of the Last Judgement, communicating with the Anastasis scene on the apse's semidome through the medalion portrait of the Archangel Michael at the center of the bema arch, covers the entire domical vault as well as the upper walls of the east bay. At the center of the composition, Christ the judge is flanked by the Virgin and St. John the Baptist in a *deesis* scene signifying the redemptive role of the Virgin and St. John on the day of the Last Judgement, as they intercede on behalf of the resurrected people being judged.<sup>6</sup> The cupola of the dome over the west bay has a portrait of the Virgin, a very important figure in terms of the death cult since Mary was considered by the Byzantines as the supreme intercessor between God and men. On the upper walls of the west bay is the Old Testament cycle, allegorically prefiguring the role of Mary as the instrument of the mystery of the Incarnation, considered to be the first step in the salvation of mankind. Most of the Old Testament scenes depicted in this "Marian" cycle, such as Moses and the burning bush, Jacob's ladder, the bearing of the ark of the covenant, the bearing of the candlestick and the golden stamnos of manna, were selected in a way to show the "material" (here the Virgin) embodying or bringing forth the "spiritual" (here Christ). Martyr saints, who represented victory over death and who were also considered as holy intercessors between God and human beings, are depicted in a row all around the lower walls of the chapel. Given the fact that for Christians cemetery (*koimeterion*) means "a place of temporary rest, a sleeping chamber, where bodies are resting in expectation of resurrection,"<sup>7</sup> the program of the chapel closely corresponds with this function of the building.

In the fresco program, where death, resurrection and saintly intercession constitute the dominant theme as shown above, certain references to the liturgy suggest that funeral services given by the church and commemorative rituals for the deceased were performed in the parekklesion. More specifically, it may be proposed that the ritual of the prothesis for the deceased as well as several commemorative ceremonies were performed in the west bay of the parekklesion, just under the dome.

<sup>6</sup> See A. Cutler, "Under the Sign of the Deesis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature," *DOP* 41 (1987), 145-54.

<sup>7</sup> P. J. Fedwick, "Death and Dying in Byzantine Liturgical Tradition," *Eastern Churches Review* 8 (1976), 159.

Byzantine practices related to death can be divided into three main categories: preparation of the body for the funeral service, the rite of the prothesis before burial, and subsequent commemorative services for the deceased. The preparation of the corpse for the ceremony included closing the eyes (*kalyptein*) and mouth (*sygkleiein*), washing and anointing the body (*chrisma*), wrapping the body (*lazaroma* or *savanoma*), clothing it according to the rank and status of the deceased for the prothesis ritual, and crossing the hands. All these preparations were undertaken at the house of the deceased in the case of laymen, and at monasteries in the case of monks.<sup>8</sup>

Following these preparations, the coffin would be carried in a funeral procession to the church where the ritual of the prothesis was to be performed.<sup>9</sup> This was the last ceremony before burial. In general the prothesis ritual for laymen and the clergy was performed in churches,<sup>10</sup> but that for members of the imperial family and high ranking officials took place at the imperial palace or in the mansion of the deceased. The official funeral service of the church, including the rite of the prothesis, was normally conducted at the narthexes, except in the case of bishops whose service was performed inside the naos.<sup>11</sup> The Byzantines used the term “prothesis” in a funerary context to denote the laying down of the body for relatives and friends to view it for the last time and to offer the last kiss (*aspasmos*) before the burial. As it appears in numerous depictions of the Virgin’s death (*koimesis*), and also in the seventeenth-century fresco of the death of St. Ephrem at the Barlaam monastery in Meteora (Fig. 3), during the rite of the prothesis the body was laid in a prone position inside a coffin, high enough for the attending people to see and kiss the deceased. The head of the corpse was elevated slightly by a pillow, and it faced towards the east in the expectation of the coming resurrection, in accordance with the words of St. John Chrysostom: “the coffin is so arranged that it faces east, indicating in this way the coming resurrection.”<sup>12</sup> Four candlesticks were placed

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<sup>8</sup> For more details on the preparation of the body, see J. Kyriakakis, “Byzantine Burial Customs: Care of the Deceased From Death to Prothesis,” *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 19 (1974), 37–72; A. C. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (Washington, D.C., 1941).

<sup>9</sup> Kyriakakis, “Byzantine Burial Customs,” 54.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 44.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>12</sup> *PG* 60, col. 725; translation here by Kyriakakis, “Byzantine Burial Customs,” 55.

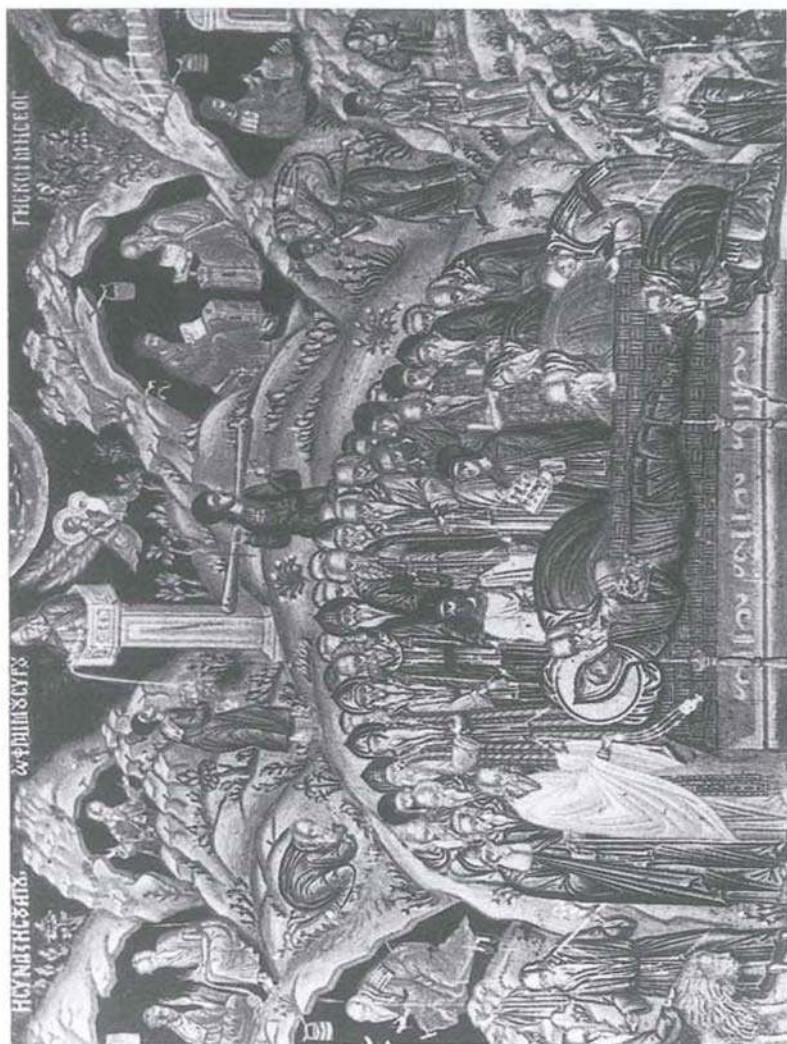


Figure 3. Meteora, Barlaam monastery, Death of St. Ephrem, 17th-century fresco.



on the four sides of the coffin so as to form a cross, symbolizing the divine light and the world to come. Upon the brow of the deceased was placed a chaplet, a strip on which Christ was depicted together with Mary and St. John the Baptist, forming a *deesis* composition and communicating the hope that the latter two might intercede with God for the deceased.<sup>13</sup> Following the reading of the psalter before the coffin, the people present, while singing hymns composed for this ritual, approached the body in prothesis for the ceremonial last kiss preceding the burial.<sup>14</sup> The hymns sung during this ritual were mostly on the subject of the futility and perishability of this world, the forthcoming resurrection, and the sweetness of the second life.<sup>15</sup>

If we turn now to the iconographic program of the Chora parekklesion, it is possible to identify several references to the rituals performed in the building. The most significant and direct references are the depictions of four hymnographers—namely, St. John of Damascus, St. Theophanes, St. Joseph the Poet, and St. Kosmas the Poet—located on the pendentives of the dome covering the west bay (Fig. 4). These are four of the six poets Dionysios of Fourna suggested, in his *Painter's Manual*, to be depicted on the pendentives of one of the two domes of a church's narthex—i.e. the place where the funeral service was performed. The same author suggested, in addition, that the Virgin and the Child be depicted in the cupola.<sup>16</sup> Hence, Dionysios' suggestions for the narthexes of churches were applied in the parekklesion of the Chora. On the north-west pendentive of the dome, with the medallion portrait of the Virgin and the Child placed in the cupola, is the fresco of the hymnographer St. Theophanes (Fig. 5). Upon Theophanes' left knee rests an open codex, on which he has written several lines. The inscription, which is hardly legible today, corresponds to the first two verses of the *Theotokion* that follows his "Ode six of the *kanon* for the funeral service of laymen": "We have turned back to the earth, after having transgressed God's divine commandment."<sup>17</sup> In the original text, these verses continue with the following statement alluding to the role of the Virgin as intercessor: "But through thee O Virgin, we have as-

<sup>13</sup> *Service Book of the Holy Orthodox-Catholic Apostolic Church*, ed. and tr. I. F. Hapgood (New York, 1922), 610.

<sup>14</sup> M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge, 1974), 31.

<sup>15</sup> Fedwick, "Death and Dying," 157.

<sup>16</sup> *The Painter's Manual of Dionysius of Fourna*, ed. P. Hetherington (London, 1981), 85.

<sup>17</sup> As quoted in Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 217.

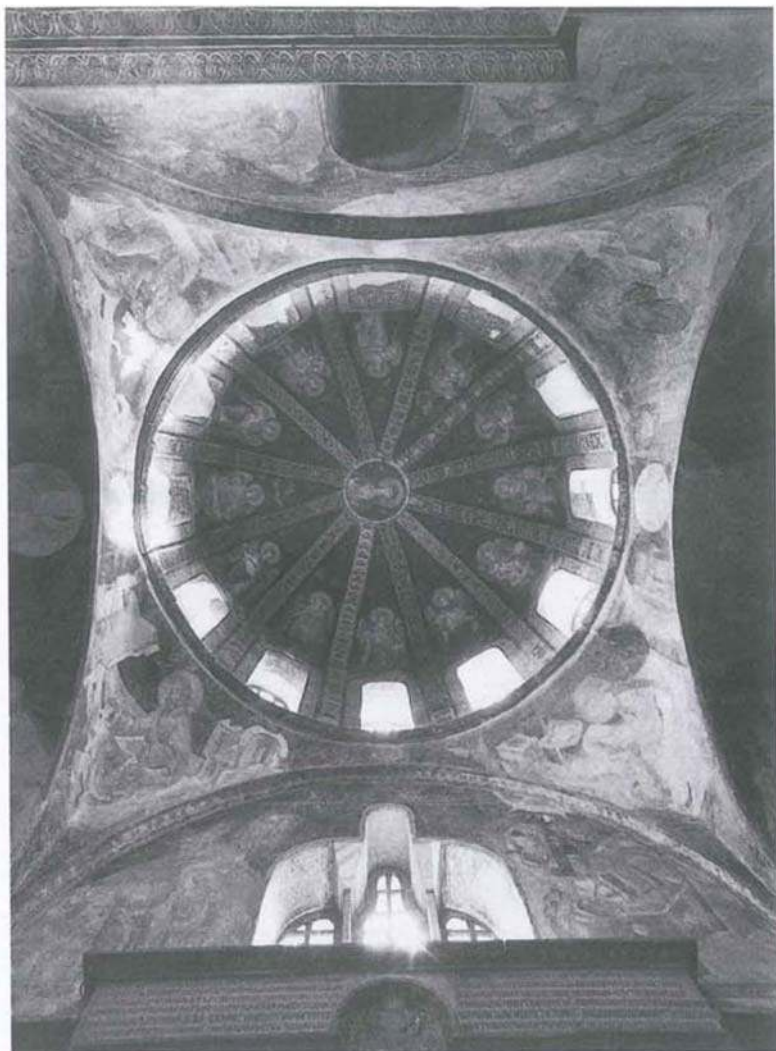


Figure 4. Parekklesion of the Chora, dome and pendentives.

cended from earth unto heaven, shaking off the corruption of death.”<sup>18</sup> On the north-east pendentive, the hymnographer St. John of Damascus is depicted (Fig. 6). He is shown with a piece of parchment lying on the lectern before him, on which he has written down several lines that are almost completely illegible today: “What joy of life

<sup>18</sup> Hapgood, *Service Book*, 383.



Figure 5. Parekklesion of the Chora, north-west pendentive, Hymnographer St. Theophanes.



Figure 6. Parekklesion of the Chora, north-east pendentive, Hymnographer St. John of Damascus.

remains without its share of sorrow?"<sup>19</sup> These words are from his *idiomela* for funeral services, and the actual text continues as follows:

What glory standeth immutable on earth? All things are but shadows most feeble, but most deluding dreams: yet one movement only, the death shall supplant them all . . . Come brothers, let us give the last kiss unto the dead, rendering thanks unto God.<sup>20</sup>

Quite clearly, this hymn by John of Damascus would have been very appropriate to chant during the rite of the prothesis, in which the "last kiss" was given. Thus the full texts of the inscriptions selected to accompany the portraits of the two hymnographers, St. Theophanes and St. John of Damascus, strongly suggest that in the Chora parekklesion, most probably under the dome covering the west bay, the prothesis ritual was performed for the deceased.

Further pieces of evidence reinforce this idea. First, when the body was laid under the dome of the parekklesion for the prothesis rite, with its head oriented towards the east in the expectation of the coming resurrection, the deceased directly faced the spectacular Anastasis fresco on the semidome of the apse, which, in the context of a funeral, would seem to represent a promise for the future resurrection, rather than simply an act of Christ performed in the past. Furthermore, just above the coffin stood the portrait of the Virgin Mary with the Child Christ, looking down from the dome's cupola onto the deceased as a mother ready to forgive and intercede on his/her behalf before God. It may be recalled that the role of the Virgin as intercessor was also alluded to in the aforementioned verses by St. Theophanes, whose portrait occupies the north-west pendentive of the dome.

It is difficult to tell precisely which commemorative ceremonies were performed in the parekklesion for those who were buried inside the chapel, since the *typikon* of the Chora monastery has not come down to us and the commemorative rituals prescribed in other surviving monastic *typika* show great diversity.<sup>21</sup> We know that on certain days memorial services were held at cemeteries, such as the *panikhidi*, a requiem service conducted at the tomb of the deceased

<sup>19</sup> As quoted in Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 217.

<sup>20</sup> PG 96, col. 1368; translation here by Hapgood, *Service Book*, 389.

<sup>21</sup> Two extreme examples in this context are the *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople founded by the emperor John II Komnenos, and the *typikon* of the Enkleistra monastery on Cyprus founded by the monk Neophytos. For their comparison, see A. W. Epstein, "Formulae for Salvation: A Comparison of Two Byzantine Monasteries and their Founders," *Church History* 50 (1981), 385-400.

on the third, ninth and fortieth day after death.<sup>22</sup> Commemorative rituals on the death anniversary of the deceased and on particular feast days were customary as well. It may not be too far-fetched to assume that in the Chora parekklesion particular days devoted to the commemoration of the dead included the Marian feasts, whose "icons" were depicted on the upper walls of the west bay. On the other hand, it is known that on Friday nights a special commemorative service for the dead was held in the monasteries on the eleventh hour, i.e. the last monastic hour of the day.<sup>23</sup> During the eleventh-hour liturgy, the Akathistos hymn was sung in honor of the Virgin Mary. Composed as early as the fifth or sixth century, the Akathistos hymn became very popular in Byzantium in the course of the later centuries and was identified with victory, being chanted on various relevant occasions.<sup>24</sup> It was also used for private devotional purposes at all times of the year.<sup>25</sup> Evidence provided by Symeon of Thessalonike from the early fifteenth century demonstrates that the Akathistos hymn was sung in the monasteries by monks every Friday evening.<sup>26</sup> It seems that after the twelfth century, especially in Constantinople, this vigil conducted at the monasteries was merged with the Friday evening memorials celebrated before the tombs,<sup>27</sup> and that the Akathistos hymn continued to be chanted to commemorate the dead. This explains the inscription on the fresco of St. Joseph the Poet, which adorns the south-west pendentive of the parekklesion's dome (Fig. 7). In the painting, several lines of text appear on the scroll which St. Joseph holds before him. The inscribed text, though difficult to read today, is from the fourth ode of his *kanon* for the Akathistos hymn: "Propitiation of the world, hail, spotless Virgin . . ."<sup>28</sup> Thus, on the basis of this inscription, it may be quite reasonable to suppose that the Akathistos hymn was chanted in the parekklesion of the Chora, probably during the commemorative services for those who were buried in the building, and perhaps for others as well.

<sup>22</sup> Hapgood, *Service Book*, 612.

<sup>23</sup> N. P. Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," *DOP* 45 (1991), 52.

<sup>24</sup> See E. Wellesz, "The 'Akathistos': A Study in Byzantine Hymnography," *DOP* 9-10 (1955-56), 141-74.

<sup>25</sup> *Akathistos Hymnos, Ode in Honour of the Holy Immaculate Most Blessed Glorious Lady Mother of God and Ever Virgin Mary*, tr. Fra Vincent McNabb (Sussex, 1947), see the translator's notes.

<sup>26</sup> *PG* 155, cols. 620-1; see Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," 52.

<sup>27</sup> Ševčenko, "Icons in the Liturgy," 56.

<sup>28</sup> *PG* 105, col. 1021; as quoted in Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 217.



Figure 7. Parekklesion of the Chora, south-west pendentive, Hymnographer St. Joseph the Poet.

Indeed, this may have been a private devotion prescribed by the *klektor* in the now lost *typikon* of the Chora monastery.

The inscription belonging to the fresco of the fourth hymnographer, St. Kosmas, on the south-east pendentive (Fig. 8) is illegible today except for the saint's *titulus*, "Kosmas the Poet."<sup>29</sup> But we know that Kosmas, too, had composed several hymns that were sung at various church festivals.

To recapitulate, considering that Byzantine monumental painting, especially in the middle and late Byzantine periods, was closely linked to the ceremonies performed inside buildings, we may conclude that the ritual of the prothesis, the church's official service before the burial, as well as commemorative rituals for the dead were performed in the parekklesion of the Chora, under the dome of the west bay where the authors of that liturgy have been portrayed on the pendentives, with certain "quotations" from their hymns that were presumably sung during the rituals in question. The Chora parekklesion, with its architecture and decoration, meets the physical, liturgical and spiritual requirements of the Byzantine rituals related to death. First, the chapel, which was built to function as a burial place, extends as the projection of the exonarthex, where we know that funeral services were performed in the Byzantine period, and it is large enough to house the rituals described above. Secondly, the iconographic program of the chapel as a whole is quite appropriate for the rituals related to death. Moreover, the program of the west bay contains direct references to the ritual of the prothesis and to various commemorative rituals, as demonstrated above. From the practical point of view, the funeral ceremony and fairly frequent commemorative services could be performed in the parekklesion without interrupting the ordinary use of the church and its narthexes. There is no reason to think that the parekklesion of the Chora was used solely for the funeral services of those who were buried there. It is very likely that the chapel functioned as a place for the prothesis ritual of any person brought to the church for receiving a funeral service. On the other hand, commemoration ceremonies for the founder, and for others buried in the parekklesion, were no doubt performed by the monks uninterruptedly, since ensuring perpetual prayers on behalf of the founder after his death was one of the fundamental motivations behind monastic patronage.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, I, 217.

<sup>30</sup> See R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold: Byzantine Society and its Icons* (London, 1985), 204, 213.





Figure 8. Parekklesion of the Chora, south-east pendentive, Hymnographer Kosmas the Poet.

**SECTION THREE**  
**SACRED SPACES: PROBLEMS OF METHOD**  
**AND INTERPRETATION**



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE FINDINGS AT KALENDERHANE AND PROBLEMS OF METHOD IN THE HISTORY OF BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE

Cecil L. Striker

I would like to discuss in this paper one of the most difficult problems with which we were confronted in interpreting and presenting our findings at Kalenderhane. That was coming to terms with, and reconciling what we had found with, existing knowledge and opinion about the history of Byzantine architecture in general, and that of Constantinople in particular.

First, I give you a brief résumé of the structural history of the site.<sup>1</sup> Already by the third annual season of work at Kalenderhane the evidence from our exposure of standing structure and from excavated pottery and coins made clear that the existing building, which we call the Main Church, combined significant elements from various structural phases; and that the ultimate, definitive structure was to be dated not to the mid-ninth century, as had been thought, but to the end of the twelfth century. Moreover, as the laying-free of standing structure continued, we found remains of two earlier churches at the site, one dating from the late sixth century, the other from the end of the seventh. The survival of substantial remains of the two earlier churches has made possible a quite secure reconstruction of their appearance. The earlier late sixth-century church, which we call the North Church, was a longitudinal basilica with trussed timber roof. The second, late seventh-century church, which we call the Bema Church, was also a timber roofed basilica, square in plan. In terms of our conception of the history of early Byzantine architecture, both of the earlier churches were old-fashioned for their time, reflecting nothing of the grand and precocious vaulted architecture

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<sup>1</sup> The following is treated in detail in C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, eds., *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, their History, Architecture, and Decoration* (Mainz, 1997), 23–95.

of the age of Justinian and of such churches as Sts. Sergios and Bakchos, and St. Sophia.

Our North Church and Bema Church are not, for the moment, at issue in terms of their reconciliation with prior scholarship since they were unknown before our investigation. But our Main Church is another matter. Starting in the 1930s and concluding with Richard Krautheimer's survey, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, first published in 1965, a consensus had been arrived at about the mid-ninth century date of Kalenderhane based on its building type.<sup>2</sup> It was a transitional building of the cross-domed type coming between the aforementioned centralized, domed church of the Justinianic age and the new types of the so-called Middle Byzantine renaissance, in particular the ubiquitous four-column cross-in-square type such as the Myrelaion. It was likened in type to such churches as the Dormition of the Virgin in Iznik/Nicaea, and St. Sophia in Thessaloniki. While the specific dates of these two buildings are a matter of dispute, they are placed by general agreement in the "transitional" period of the seventh to ninth century. Thus dated, together with Kalenderhane, they fit well—and, indeed, define—a template of serial, linear, evolutionary development.

The chronology of churches at Kalenderhane raises two questions which are at the heart of my consideration. First, how is it that we were so wrong—three-and-one-half centuries wrong—about the date of the Main Church? And then, in terms of the known dates for all three churches at the site, what modifications must be made in our general conception of change and development in the history of Byzantine architecture, particularly with regard to the evolution of building types? Our inquiry also raises a set of corollary questions about the history and historiography of medieval architecture in the Latin West.

Even before the discoveries at Kalenderhane, there was reason to question whether it was appropriate to apply the biological metaphor of evolution to explain the full span of the history of Byzantine architecture.<sup>3</sup> While this appeared to work for the Early Byzantine period, in which buildings like St. Sophia could be likened to mutation, the

<sup>2</sup> For the history of scholarship, see Striker and Kuban, *Kalenderhane*, 1–4.

<sup>3</sup> I take this metaphor as formulated by Panofsky and cited by J. Bony in *Romanesque and Gothic Art: Studies in Western Art* (Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art), (Princeton, 1963), 81.

later one moved in time the less appropriate the evolutionary metaphor appeared to be. Already with regard to so-called transitional types, Krautheimer experiences discomfort in attempting to classify churches of the cross-domed type: "Any attempt at clarifying Byzantine church building between 600 and 850 invariably brings to mind the architectural types and concepts of the age of Justinian. At present, however, it is next to impossible to trace a development either from one church type to another, or between types within a single group."<sup>4</sup> Moving forward in time, Krautheimer observes: "With the middle of the ninth century, the church plans of the times immediately after Justinian generally disappear from the architectural centers of the Empire. Their place is taken by new types, widely differing among each other in plan, yet closely related in stylistic concept." He then continues: "Older plans of the period after Justinian are nevertheless retained or revived, mainly along the borders of the Empire and its sphere of influence in politics and culture." And a page later, he adds: "Very different in character from reversions to obsolete plans in the sphere of the court are survival of old-fashioned building types on a popular provincial level, either as a persisting local type or as a borrowing from another remote province."

From the tenth century on the evolutionary metaphor breaks down altogether, in part because of the widespread and continuous use of the four-column, cross-in-square type. Again, Krautheimer writes: "It is decidedly possible and not even difficult to characterize Middle Byzantine architecture as a stylistic entity. But the persistence of established architectural types for over three hundred years makes the chronological presentation of Middle Byzantine architecture troublesome;" and "... the historian has a hard time to trace in more than tentative manner the development within regional schools. And it seems at the moment nearly impossible to present a development of the whole of Middle Byzantine architecture during its life span of over three hundred years."

You will notice that Krautheimer describes the historian's problems with an instinctive conceptual vocabulary of building types old and new, of obsolescence and old-fashionedness, and of chronological development. And when thwarted by failure of these concepts to give clear, historical explanations, he shifts to explanation based

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<sup>4</sup> The citations from Krautheimer here and henceforth are from *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, 4th ed. (London-New York, 1986).

on the idea of center and periphery: of metropolitan and provincial. It is almost as though Byzantine architecture were not playing according to the rules of the game. But what were the rules of the game? By this I mean how was medieval—and by extension Byzantine—architecture supposed to evolve and develop. And how did the idea of this come into being?

The historical study of Byzantine architecture is a late-comer, following on the heels of the study of Greek and Roman, Western medieval, and Renaissance architecture. As such, its study embodied from the outset the historical and methodological premises acquired over time for the study of the architecture of these other epochs. Herein lie some basic problems, and—as I hope will be evident from my consideration—some fallacies. One of these is the *ut pictura architectura* fallacy, according to which architecture changes and evolves like painting;<sup>5</sup> and like painting, is to be historically explained according to developmental and evolutionary change as set down normatively for the history of art by Villani and Vasari: An inferior earlier is succeeded by a superior later. The later presupposes the earlier out of which it deterministically, and necessarily, evolves. There is progress in the arts.<sup>6</sup>

A second problem was the blurring of the distinction between Byzantine and Romanesque architecture, often spoken of synonymously in the architectural history and criticism of the late nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Both were the progeny of Roman architecture; and, accordingly, Byzantine and Romanesque architecture should behave similarly with regard to development and change; and the historical methodology for their investigation should work equally well for both.

But the most serious methodological problem emerged as we came to learn and appreciate the rapid and dramatic evolution of Late Romanesque to Early Gothic and Early to High Gothic architecture in the seventy year period between 1140 and 1210 and beyond.

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<sup>5</sup> See T. W. Bizzarro, *Romanesque Architectural Criticism. A Prehistory* (Cambridge, 1992), 147–9.

<sup>6</sup> See R. Krautheimer, “The Beginnings of Art Historical Writing in Italy,” *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), 257–74. For the medieval idea of progress, see J. Spörl, “Das Alte und das Neue im Mittelalter. Studien zum Problem des mittelalterlichen Fortschrittsbewußtseins,” *Historisches Jahrbuch* 50 (1930), 297–341, 498–524; and E. V. van der Grinten, *Elements of Art Historiography in Medieval Texts* (The Hague, 1969), 38–55.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., T. G. Jackson (1835–1924), *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture* (Cambridge, 1920).

Here the evolutionary template fits nicely. First came evolution before mutation. At least two of the three components of Gothic architecture, the pointed arch and the ribbed vault, were in place. When exactly the third component, the flying buttress, is first introduced is a bit problematical. Then came mutation: the invention of the Gothic with Suger's choir at St. Denis; and quickly thereafter a remarkable evolution after mutation, which can be documented decade for decade.

The evidence for this from the buildings, themselves, is indisputable. The Normans experimented with the double-shell triforium and clerestory as a means for lightening the load of the superstructure while retaining its stiffness. They experimented with the sexpartite vault, which was ultimately rejected with Chartres for formal as well as practical reasons of construction, as demonstrated by Robert Mark.<sup>8</sup> Beginning with Noyon, and continuing with Notre Dame in Paris, Laon, Chartres, Reims, and Amiens, we clearly see an aspiration in design toward maximum absolute height coupled with continuous experimentation with and adjustment of the individual elements of the nave wall. If we look at these and related buildings serially, we also get an unmistakable sense of competitiveness: the new building at each stage is obviously a commentary on its immediate predecessor, doing it one better detail for detail. In this progression major elements of design become obsolete, are discarded, and never appear again. Scores of other examples of this progression exist both in the design of whole buildings and of partial modernizing.

Hand in hand with the foregoing was another feature peculiar to the architecture of the West in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, namely the intimate link between the development in design and the parallel evolution in architectural technology.<sup>9</sup> Again, the evidence from the buildings, themselves, is our best source of information. Until about the third quarter of the twelfth century, the knowledge about the static and dynamic behavior of structures which the Middle Ages had inherited from Roman antiquity was sufficient to satisfy most design intentions. But the ever growing appetite for larger and taller churches soon reached the limits of this knowledge. The knowledge was empirical. It would be centuries before the theoretical

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<sup>8</sup> R. Mark, *Light, Wind, and Structure* (Cambridge-London, 1990), 115-7.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*; R. Mark, ed., *Architectural Technology up to the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge-London, 1993); and W. Müller, *Grundlagen gotischer Bautechnik* (Munich, 1990).



principles of some basic laws of structure would begin to be understood, some of them fundamental to the problems then being addressed in the design of large-scale structures. Unknown, for example, was the fact that compressive stress of structure increases exponentially—not arithmetically—with increase in scale; and the fact that the line of thrust in a semi-circular arch was not congruent with its shape but rather followed a catenary curve would only be fully understood in the eighteenth century.

Accordingly, problems were solved by trial and error. Deformations and failures experienced in the process of building brought refinements and corrections. We must imagine builders in this period having an experimental attitude toward their craft and that they were practicing a kind of proto-scientific method whereby progress was sought and achieved, measured by ever more daringly high vaults, more translucent walls, and greater concealment of their means of support.

In light of this it is not only not surprising, but probably inevitable that in the first half of this century the story of High and Late medieval architecture should be told in terms of evolutionary progress, beginning with Romanesque—often spoken of as a kind of unfulfilled Gothic—culminating with High Gothic, and followed by the Late Gothic dénouement. Whether one reads standard works like Kingsley Porter in English, Paul Frankl in German, or de Lasteyrie in French,<sup>10</sup> the underlying evolutionary premise is the same—of anticipation and fulfillment; of experimentation, failure, and success; and of the necessary dialogue between design intention and technology of realization. The important corollary to an evolutionary conception such as this is that while mutations occur from time to time, which cannot be explained as the necessary, or even predictable sequel to what had come before, by and large architecture evolves in an understandable and explainable chronological sequence. Once the chronology of this sequence has been established on the basis of dated buildings, it is possible to fit undated works into it according to their state of development relative to the dated sequence. This positivist and deterministic way of thinking underlies much in the historical sciences—one thinks of archaeologists arranging pottery sequences in

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<sup>10</sup> A. K. Porter, *Medieval Architecture*, 2 vols. (New Haven, 1912); P. Frankl, *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1918); R. de Lasteyrie, *L'Architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane* (Paris, 1929) and his *L'Architecture religieuse en France à l'époque gothique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1926-27).

series—and while it appears to be a logical method in theory, in application it has a reflexive effect of self-reinforcement and self-confirmation. We line up the dated works; we then fit the undated between them; everything appears to work well; the method, therefore, must be valid.

I do not have an easy alternative to these methodological shortcomings when they are wrongly applied to Byzantine architecture. Part of the difficulty lies in the risk of seeking evidence for explanation beyond that given by the buildings themselves, and then devising methodological premises and historical systems to fit them. If the biological evolution metaphor does not work for the whole of Byzantine architecture, perhaps there are other more suitable explanations. Among the dangers in this is, first of all, the temptation to satisfy our need for historiographic order with sweeping cultural generalities. Thus, Byzantine civilization was static, self-satisfied, decadent, immutable, and impervious to outside influence challenging its accepted ways. Accordingly, fully cognizant as Byzantines must have been of the pointed arch and its advantages (both the Seljuks and the Crusaders were using it in religious and utilitarian buildings in Byzantine and adjacent lands), they stuck to the round arch to the bitter end. And as far as the megastructures of High Gothic were concerned, of which they undoubtedly knew, they had their Hagia Sophia and it sufficed.

A second and equally serious danger is one that got us in the pickle in the first place. In writing the history of Byzantine architecture we are crippled by an almost total lack of specific information about the circumstances and conditions for the erection of individual buildings. We lack the physical evidence (Kalenderhane is an exception), and the texts, to which I will turn shortly, are without exception uninformative. To compensate for this, we habitually impose templates of general historical explanation upon specific buildings, which, as we are now only gradually learning, have little relation to the facts. One of the many lessons learned at Kalenderhane is how important—indeed definitive—the site-specific conditions were in determining the shape of the three churches erected there.

Let me recapitulate. In preparing our volume on the buildings at Kalenderhane, we were obliged to provide a first echelon of interpretation of their historical position. The earlier North Church and Bema Church, unknown until our excavation, had no history of prior scholarship. By contrast, the Main Church had long figured in the history of Byzantine architecture. Moving it three-and-one-half centuries

forward in date required a basic reconsideration of established premises for the history of Byzantine architecture. We had to come to terms with the fact that a church type, invented centuries earlier, then apparently fallen out of use, makes its appearance again centuries later. The problem was made more poignant by the discovery, reconstruction, and dating of the two earlier churches at the site. They were also retardataire in terms of our conception of the evolution of Byzantine church types. The timber roofed basilica supposedly went out of fashion at the beginning of the sixth century, and the appearance—or reappearance—of this type in the center of Constantinople in the late sixth and again in the late seventh century could hardly be explained as a provincialism of the Krautheimer center-periphery kind.

No single factor or turning point determined the course of our thinking or the outcome of our conclusions. The gradual process was helped along as we began to understand the structural morphology of the site as a whole and, in particular, the dialogue between each new structural phase at the site and those which had preceded it. It was also helped by the idiosyncratic shape of the building site and the irregularities which this imparted to all of the structures, for this emphasized the constraints with which the designers of each new phase were confronted and made clearer the reasons for particular choices. We realized in instance after instance that the particular design decision was the best, and in some cases the only one to solve the problem at hand. Throughout this process we worked only deductively from the evidence of the buildings, themselves. Only after we had established their probable appearance and determined their relative and absolute chronology did we step back to reflect on how our results were to be reconciled with prevailing opinion and method in the general field of the history of Byzantine architecture.

It will take time for the consequences of our findings to be digested and appreciated, and for the field as a whole to be adjusted in terms of them. But I think we are already able to see some of the directions these adjustments should take. The idea of progress and the related idea of modernity should be discarded as explanatory bases for the full span of Byzantine architecture, at least in the forms that they are legitimately used for explaining change in Romanesque and Gothic architecture and became embedded in Western art historiography from Villani and Vasari on. Greater recognition must be given to the fact that in Byzantine architecture the vocabulary of

design solutions of individual architectural elements was already complete by the sixth century. What followed thereafter was a history of variations in the arrangement and combination of these elements in which the design of individual elements and their overall assembly remained part of the active architectural vocabulary, available to be called upon for centuries on end as the circumstances required.

Accordingly, the straight-line, evolutionary crescendo of progress which we correctly observe in Romanesque and Gothic architecture must be recognized as a geographically and chronologically circumscribed phenomenon; and the biological metaphor for it was incorrectly assumed to be valid for and transferrable to the Byzantine East and to its whole history. One reason for this mistake is the inadequate appreciation of the intimate relation between design and technology, especially in French Gothic architecture. Only recently have we begun to appreciate fully that once the design intentions were established it was through technological development that they could be realized. To be sure, this opened extraordinary possibilities. But it also imposed limitations: the choice of design solutions in Gothic architecture was, in short, significantly narrowed by the limits of technology to realize them. And this, in turn, created the clear, step-by-step, sharply-focused, and tightly unified picture of change which we have today.

For whatever reason, Byzantine architecture neither shared the design aspirations of the French Gothic nor was affected by them. But its disregard of these also offered it a remarkable freedom of choice of design, unconstrained by the limitations of technology, and unconcerned with what this meant in terms of progress and modernity. Certainly one of the most important avenues of future inquiry will be to ask why this was so.

Finally, while it is only indirectly related to our consideration of progress, I would like to comment briefly on the matter of style; for architectural style and building type are closely linked, and typological evolution is at the heart of our argument. I do not suggest that considerations of style be excluded from New Age Byzantine architectural history. Visual evidence and its use in interpretation are central to our *métier*, and when stylistic features are judiciously invoked in explaining Byzantine architecture they can be instructive, particularly with regard to an individual building of homogeneous date of construction. The danger comes when we begin to construct period styles out of the small handful of Byzantine buildings that

have been preserved, use these to interpret the spirit of the time, and create neat patterns of development out of undated and unexplored buildings. The Main Church at Kalenderhane is an *ad hoc* amalgam of a seventh-century chancel, a homogeneous central core, and a domed narthex gallery, which only came into use in the late eleventh century. How are we to put this into a period style?

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### RESTORATION WORK AT THE ZEYREK CAMII, 1997–1998

Metin Ahunbay and Zeynep Ahunbay

The Pantokrator complex, the most distinguished monastery of the Middle Ages in Constantinople,<sup>1</sup> was founded by empress Irene, the wife of emperor John II Komnenos (r. 1118–1143) and daughter of king Ladislav of Hungary.<sup>2</sup> Relevant literary sources—a poem recited on the consecration ceremony of the triple church and the monastery, and a biography of Irene—recount her wish to found a monastery with a house attached to it for poor, sick and suffering souls.<sup>3</sup> Her strong will incited the emperor's zeal to back her in her deed of charity. The construction progressed rapidly, and before her early death in 1134 the monastery and the churches were nearly completed. The work was thereafter attended by the emperor himself and brought to its final stage soon, as the *typikon* of the monastery (dated 1136) implies.<sup>4</sup>

The program of the establishment was ambitious from the start: it included accommodations for suffering women and for people with eye diseases, a house for the sick and elderly people, and finally a leprosarium with specialized staff and attendants.<sup>5</sup> The monks of the monastery were obliged to observe continuous services, as is decreed

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<sup>1</sup> For related bibliography, see Janin, *Églises*, 515–23; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 209–15; J. P. Thomas and A. C. Hero, eds., *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* (Washington, D.C., 2000), 736–7; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 30–3; S. Eyice, “Zeyrek Kilise Camii,” in *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, VII (İstanbul, 1994), 555–7.

<sup>2</sup> G. Moravcsik, “Szent László Leánya és a Bizánci Pantokrator-Monostor,” *A Konstantinápolyi Magyar Tudományos Intézet Közleményei (Mitteil. des ungarischen wissenschaftlichen Institutes in Konstantinopel)* 7–8 (1923), 3–84, part of the treatise also in German (“Die Tochter Ladislaus des Heiligen und das Pantokrator-Kloster in Konstantinopel”); *ibid.*, 65–84, here 68–73; for a different interpretation, however, see Janin, *Églises*, 515; also Thomas and Hero, *BMTD*, 725.

<sup>3</sup> Moravcsik, “Szent László Leánya,” 43–51, 70–3.

<sup>4</sup> P. Gautier, “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” *REB* 32 (1974), 1–145, here 130.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 82–112.

by the foundation deed. Shortly after the establishment of the south and north churches, dedicated respectively to Christ Pantokrator and to the Theotokos Eleousa, the program was modified; a chapel dedicated to the Archangel St. Michael was inserted between the two edifices.<sup>6</sup> Empress Irene and later her husband John II Komnenos, as well as their son Manuel I, were interred within this new building, which subsequently served as a mortuary chapel also for some members of the Palaiologan dynasty. The narthexes of the south and north churches were left unaltered, and an exonarthex was added to the south church, enlarging the space that preceded the main building.

By the mid-fifteenth century the churches and the monastery had fallen into a dilapidated state, mainly through neglect. In 1453 the establishment of Ottoman rule in the city by Sultan Mehmed II signaled the end of Christian observance in the monastery. A center for Muslim education was founded there under the auspices of Molla Zeyrek, an esteemed scholar and contemporary of Mehmed II.<sup>7</sup> Following the completion of the Fatih complex in 1471, the students at Zeyrek moved to the newly built *madrasas*, and thereafter the three churches came to serve as the Molla Zeyrek mosque. There is nothing left above ground from the monastery today, apart from the cisterns constructed as substructures.<sup>8</sup> During the Ottoman period, clusters of residential buildings were erected around the mosque. Having escaped the fire hazards which devastated Istanbul in the early years of the twentieth century, the Zeyrek Camii and the picturesque timber houses surrounding it have been designated as a World Heritage Site.

Today the monument is under the custody of Vakıflar, i.e. the General Directorate of Pious Foundations. In 1953 the western façade of the exonarthex was restored and some repairs were conducted on

<sup>6</sup> For the plan of the churches, see A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London, 1912), fig. 77 (facing p. 240); J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), pl. 42; A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP* 17 (1963), 341, fig. D 10; T. F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, Penn., 1976), 71–101, plan 74; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 210, fig. 237.

<sup>7</sup> *Fatih Mehmed II Vakıfyeleri*, Vakıflar Umum Müdürlüğü Neşriyatı I (Ankara, 1938), 201–2 (§§42–4), 227 (§§164–5), 257 (§§314–6); H. Ayvansaraylı, *Hadikat ül-Cevami*, I (Istanbul, 1869; written 1779), 118; E. H. Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mimarisinde Fatih Devri*, III (Istanbul, 1973), 537.

<sup>8</sup> A site plan can be seen in Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 210, fig. 237.

the roof under the direction of architect A. S. Ülgen, the head of the Restoration Department of Vakıflar (Pious Foundations).<sup>9</sup> Old photos show the western elevation of the mosque before Ülgen's restoration.<sup>10</sup> In 1966/67 the western and northern façades of the north building were restored by F. Çuhadaroğlu, an architect with long service in Vakıflar.<sup>11</sup> His restoration of the western façade followed the lines of Ülgen's work. He also undertook a thorough improvement of the north elevation. In the course of the restoration in 1966/67, the lead sheet covering of the roof was replaced with cement plaster, as a measure against the theft-risk of the costly lead sheets. During this major change on the roof, only the domes of the south and north buildings retained their lead coverings.<sup>12</sup>

In the following two decades, the cement plaster deteriorated and lost its protective capacity, permitting the penetration of water through the vaults. The monument had been maintained badly; there was need for repair. As a preparatory step to a comprehensive restoration of the monument, a research project was initiated in 1995 with the collaboration of Professor R. Ousterhout from the University of Illinois. The Vakıflar Directorate in Ankara granted permission to work on a restoration project.<sup>13</sup> 1/25 scaled ground level plans of the north and the middle buildings were produced. This was followed by another plan of the funerary chapel at its cornice level, and a scaffold was set up to survey its inner elevations.

The restoration of the Zeyrek Camii had to go along with a rehabilitation program for the neighborhood. As part of a joint venture with the local government, a project was developed for the restoration of a desolate building to the north-east of the Zeyrek mosque.

<sup>9</sup> Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 214.

<sup>10</sup> Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 78, pl. 10–7; Ebersolt and Thiers, *Les églises*, pl. 48; but a drawing by Ch. Texier depicts the same façade with undulating roofline: R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Baltimore, 1965), 140 (B).

<sup>11</sup> F. Çuhadaroğlu, "Zeyrek Kilise Camii Restitüsüyonu," *Rölvö ve Restorasyon Dergisi* 1 (1974), 99–108.

<sup>12</sup> Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 73, pl. 10–1.

<sup>13</sup> The work presented here is part of a project supported by Istanbul Technical University Research Fund. Students of Architecture (D. Dilber, A. Çelik, S. Akatay, M. Karaç, D. Taftalı, E. Güzel, S. Gürdoğan, K. Durmaz, G. Kale et al.) and of the postgraduate program (R. Lim, S. Şahin, N. Hacıkura, B. Yanılmaz, K. Koçer) from the Department of Restoration (ITU) participated in this project. Prof. R. Ousterhout provided a grant of \$3,500 from the University of Illinois for costs of the scaffolding, \$10,000 from Dumbarton Oaks for documentation, and \$20,000 from WMF for urgent repairs of the roof and windows.



It was the ground floor of a late Ottoman mansion. The idea was to convert the building into a café so as to create a momentum to improve the neighborhood.<sup>14</sup> Other projects were developed for a number of timber houses in the neighborhood.<sup>15</sup>

In 1997, the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul allocated a generous grant to the Vakıflar Directorate for roof repairs. A contractor was appointed by the Municipality to carry out the practical work. The Historical Monuments Council of Istanbul demanded a project defining the restoration work to be conducted. The Vakıflar Directorate asked us to prepare the project for the repairs on the roof; thus our work was diverted to the survey of the roof and the development of a proposal for its restoration. After the approval of the project by the Historical Monuments Council of Istanbul, practical work on the site started in September 1997.<sup>16</sup>

#### *Conservation Principles and Scope of the Restoration Work*

Although the Municipality and Vakıflar authorities considered the work on the roof simply as the renewal of the lead covering, it proved to be a complex work in every respect. To start a restoration from the roof is not the usual practice, but the circumstances obliged us to undertake this difficult task.

The Zeyrek Camii has a complex fabric which is an agglomeration of centuries of repairs and interventions. In contrast to its long history and the series of alterations or modifications it has undergone, the sources of information about the architectural interventions are very limited. Graphic or written documentation about the extent of restorations in the late Ottoman period, as well as the material evidence upon which the restorations in the twentieth century were based, lie in obscurity. Consequently, evidence from the

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<sup>14</sup> This project has been implemented by Garanti-Koza construction firm, without conforming strictly to our project. The renovated building is called "Zeyrekhane" now and serves as a restaurant.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. houses no. 33 (by N. Tosun) and nos. 35–37 (by H. Kalkavan) on İbadethane Street; no. 2 (by H. Kalkavan) and no. 14 (by O. Taşkın) on İbadethane Arkası Street.

<sup>16</sup> We would like to thank restoration architect Nilgün Olgun from Istanbul Vakıflar Directorate for her support and cooperation in our project.

monument itself, gained through meticulous observation and examination of the uncovered roof construction, had to be the only secure guide leading to decisions for restoration.

Modern conservation theory maintains that a monument is the sum of its past and urges us to conserve all the historical data in the structure and the fabric of the building. As we are already at the outset of the twenty-first century, even the restorations of the last century have become an integral part of the Zeyrek mosque and need to be respected. Adoption of traditional materials and techniques was considered essential in order to achieve a good bonding between the old and new fabric. A mortar mix, very similar to the Byzantine mortar or to Turkish *khōrasan* mortar and consisting mainly of lime, crushed brick and brick powder, was prepared and used by workers on the site.<sup>17</sup> New bricks in dimensions similar to the originals were specially made at a traditional kiln in Merzifon.

*Preparation of the Project for the Restoration of the Roof:  
March–July 1997*

Renewing the roof coverings required investigation of the present roof cornices and other details to be applied at relevant levels before spreading the lead sheets. The original cornices had been lost or heavily damaged; at many points it was not possible to find any historic detail. The examination revealed that there were about three types of cornices at different levels of the roof. The dog-tooth frieze, extant on the south-eastern corner of the south building,<sup>18</sup> seemed to be Byzantine in the light of many other examples in Istanbul. However, closer investigations made it clear that all cornices of this type in the Zeyrek mosque are from the Ottoman period and probably date from restorations conducted between the eighteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the Ottoman period, the original cornices over the main apses of the eastern elevation and over the south wall of the eastern crossarm of the south building had been replaced by the so-called

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<sup>17</sup> Prof. E. Gürdal from the Materials Department of ITU kindly contributed the mortar mixes to be used for pointing and plastering.

<sup>18</sup> Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, pl. 144.

“green stone” blocks (Fig. 1).<sup>19</sup> Lateral walls of the bema and the eastern crossarm, however, were crowned by string courses of projecting bricks which were plastered over to render a cavetto. A similar moulding had been applied to the drums of all the domes.

### *Observations During Roof Repairs: September 1997–June 1998*

At the outset of the work, the cement covering of the vaults and domes had to be removed. Under the 2 cm thick cement plaster lay a 20–25 cm thick concrete layer, which rested upon a 20 cm thick rubble stone bedding. Beneath the rubble stones, a layer of earth and dirt of differing thickness was revealed. This dark mixture, which probably belonged to the earlier cushioning for the lead covering, contained some red, green, blue and gilded tesserae.

#### 1. *North Building*

##### a) *Eastern Vaults and Apse Polygon*

The brick construction of the bema and the eastern crossarm vaults were in fairly good condition. Pointing with *khurasan* mortar was the only treatment required. The northern walls of both vaults had been seriously damaged and repaired in a careless and hasty manner, without any attempt to preserve the offset at the juncture of the bema and the eastern crossarm (Fig. 2). The lowest portion of the offset became visible in the course of cleaning work at the roof of the north-eastern compartments. Due to the extent of additional work and cost, it was not possible to restore the altered wall.

The removal of all the dirt around the apse conch revealed two rows of amphorae carefully arranged around the base of the semi-dome, between the apse conch and the top of the apse wall, where the thickness of the masonry was reduced to nearly 0.40 m (Fig. 3). Amphorae were used to fill voids in a light way. They were laid upside down and at an angle with the apse wall. Few were intact, the majority being either damaged or in fragments. The present roof

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<sup>19</sup> “Green stone” was used lavishly in Istanbul during the 18th century for new constructions as well as in restorations; see Z. Ahunbay, “Osmanlı Mimarlığında ‘Od’ Taşı,” in *9. Milletlerarası Türk Sanatları Kongresi*, I (Ankara, 1995), 27–34.



Figure 1. Istanbul, Zeyrek Camii, south church, green stone cornice blocks over the eastern wall (A. Neftçi, 1997).



Figure 2. Zeyrek Camii, north church, roof of north-east corner, with the partition wall in the foreground (Z. Ahunbay, 1998).

cornice of the apse is composed of “green stone” blocks, probably dating from an eighteenth-century restoration. At some points, the insertion of the green stone blocks had slightly damaged the top of the amphorae. Some of the amphorae below the green stone blocks, on the other hand, were intact, indicating that the original cornice level was not very different from the present one.

The inner row of vessels, the one next to the apse conch, was removed after graphic and photographic documentation.<sup>20</sup> The removed vessels were then cleaned, examined, repaired and recorded.<sup>21</sup> The second row of amphorae, which were held firmly in their position by the wall and the cornice blocks, were left in situ. As the void created by the removal of the first row had to be filled, modern ceramic jars of similar size were installed in the place of the removed vessels. During the excavation for the amphorae, the filling between the jars was inspected. It consisted of very dark-colored ash and contained some pieces of charcoal as well. For restoration work, it was not possible to obtain ash; the contractor provided instead a filler from a brick kiln. This material was employed to secure the jars firmly in position. The jars were placed upside down, and the filler was poured in between. After filling the voids and covering their top, the area between the apse conch and the cornice blocks was levelled. To provide a base for the lead sheets and to protect the vessels from damage, they were covered by a layer of brick tiles.

#### b) *Vaulting of the Northern Crossarm*

The removal of the thick concrete layer over the northern vault exposed a long fissure which ran along the northern outer edge of the structure (Fig. 4). Its position corresponded approximately to the tympanum wall under the barrel vault. The crack had been stitched with bricks and sealed by pouring molten lead into the fissure. This break might have resulted from a tilting of the north wall, which is visible in the naos. The deflection may well have been inflicted by earthquakes to which the monument was subjected in the past

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<sup>20</sup> Mr. Tahsin Sezer from the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul was the responsible supervisor for their removal.

<sup>21</sup> Zeyrek amphorae are being studied by archaeologist Aysin Özgül; after she completed the documentation and repair works, the amphorae were entrusted to the custody of the Vakıflar Museum at Saraçhane.



Figure 3. Zeyrek Camii, north church, amphorae at the base of the apse semidome (Z. Ahunbay, 1998).



Figure 4. Zeyrek Camii, north church, crack on the vaulting of the northern crossarm (A. Neftçi, 1997).

centuries. The north building must have suffered severely, and consequently the columns supporting the dome were impaired and replaced by masonry piers. The alteration process of the supports seems to have been gradual; the eastern piers, which are definitely from the late eighteenth century, seem to be earlier than the western piers. During previous restorations, iron bars have been inserted to tie the piers to the outer walls, and some of the windows on the north wall have been blocked. The tie bars are in bad condition today. The blocked windows were cleaned by Çuhadaroğlu, at which time a small mosaic was revealed within the soffit of a window arch. The restoration in the 1960s has covered up most of the damages on the north wall, but the crack on the marble cornice gives an idea about the direction and scale of the break in the masonry.

Among alternative strengthening solutions that were put forward to stabilize the northern vault, a soft measure was preferred.<sup>22</sup> The crack was cleaned carefully and filled in with a mortar strengthened by water-based epoxy resin.<sup>23</sup>

### c) *North-Eastern Corner*

The north-eastern roof area is considerably lower than the adjoining eastern and northern crossarms. It has a lean-to roof sloping down towards the small lateral apse.<sup>24</sup> The north façade, restored in 1966/67, has adopted this roof type. When the roof was freed from its concrete and dirt layers, traces belonging to a different roof construction appeared. The north-eastern corner corresponds to the two compartments at the ground floor: the north-eastern bay of the naos and the northern pastophoria chamber. This division in the ground level is reflected at the roof as two separate elements at different levels: a domical vault and a lower barrel vault. Remains of a well-preserved masonry partition in recessed brick technique, and firmly bonded into the eastern crossarm, separated the vaults (Fig. 2).

Their sloping roofline at the northern façade conforms with the situation documented by Ebersolt and Thiers in the early twentieth

<sup>22</sup> As recommended by Prof. Müfit Yorulmaz, project advisor on structural issues.

<sup>23</sup> Prof. Ahmet Ersen from ITU Conservation Department developed the recipe for this mortar mix.

<sup>24</sup> Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 76, pl. 10-4; 90, pl. 10-29.

century,<sup>25</sup> reflecting a form reached after major losses of the fabric. Our search for traces of masonry attesting to an earlier roofline proved fruitless; the northern façade has a modern facing and the inclined top of the wall is entirely of new masonry. Consequently, in the absence of enough constructional data, no attempt was made to change the present contours of the wall.

Over the apse conch of the pastophoria northern chamber, several roof tiles were uncovered, marking an earlier roof cornice level which was lower than the present one, hence testifying to a rise in the roof line. Traces of a dog-tooth frieze at the top of the polygonal wall of the lateral apse pointed to an intervention during the eighteenth century. The dog-tooth cornice at this level was repaired according to the new evidence. During the documentation phase of the roof, a deep crack parallel to the east-west axis was observed as an extension of the disrapture of the northern crossarm. This was treated in the same manner as the crack in the north vault.

#### d) *The Dome Over the Crossarms and its Fenestration*

Unlike the other domes of the Zeyrek mosque, the northern dome rests on a cylindrical drum. When the modern cement plastering of the drum was removed, a kind of brickwork which differs from the prevailing masonry technique of the building was exposed. The proportion of the drum height to the exposed dome shell is another point which finds no parallel in the domes of the south building or the funerary chapel.<sup>26</sup> The dome of the north building and its drum must have collapsed in the eighteenth century as a result of seismic actions and restored to its present form soon after the earthquake. Mosaic tesserae, found dispersed in dirt and rubble as well as in the mortar used in the Ottoman drum, are significant in this respect. These and other details point to a substantial restoration, probably in the late eighteenth century. The crown of the western vault might have been damaged by the same disaster. The central part of the western tympanum reflects a distinct Ottoman repair (Fig. 5).

Traditional Ottoman windows have gypsum filigrans surrounded by timber frames. The restorations in the second half of the twentieth

<sup>25</sup> Ebersolt and Thiers, *Les églises*, pl. 46.

<sup>26</sup> Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 75, pl. 10-2; 78, pl. 10-6.





Figure 5. Zeyrek Camii, north church, vaulting of the western crossarm (A. Neftçi, 1997).



Figure 6. Zeyrek Camii, funerary chapel, the irregular brickwork of the domes (A. Neftçi, 1997).

century revised the window style to rectangularly divisioned concrete frames, in suit of the Kariye restoration style. Drawings and photographs from the nineteenth and early twentieth century show diagonally arranged square or rhomboid patterns,<sup>27</sup> which are characteristic of the late eighteenth century. To remain consistent with the cylindrical form of the Ottoman reconstruction of the drum window, filigrans matching the design of the late eighteenth century were preferred for the present restoration.

## 2. *Central Building*

The funerary chapel has three distinct compartments which are reflected as such at the roof level: the main dome, a smaller cupola to its east, and the apse conch.

When the main dome was stripped of its thick cement coating, a deformed and unevenly constructed brick shell was exposed. Most of the bricks were broken and irregular in size (Fig. 6). They seemed to be a random collection of pieces from indefinite sources. Close observation conveyed the impression that the irregular brickwork concealed the original hemispherical outline of the dome. This exterior skin must have been applied as a strengthening measure to compensate for the weakening due to the cracking in the dome. A similar treatment had altered the geometry of the eastern cupola, where the object of the remedy was apparent; two radial cracks were observed at the lower half of the eastern dome. Following expert advice, the cracks on the eastern cupola were treated by injection. Brickwork of both dome shells were pointed and then plastered with *khurasan*. Mud plaster, which acts as cushion under the lead sheeting, was applied in the traditional manner.

## 3. *South Building*

Work on the crossarms of the main building of the complex exposed further amphorae of identical size and type, hence of the same date, as those in the north building. A pair was salvaged from the south side of the eastern arm and catalogued. The north side of the same arm had no vessels. According to the notes kept by Çuhadaroğlu,

<sup>27</sup> Ebersolt and Thiers, *Les églises*, pls. 46, 48; Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 98, pl. 10–45.

some amphorae had been extracted from the roof during the 1967 restoration.<sup>28</sup>

After the removal of the cement plaster over the conch, broken roof tiles from an earlier roof covering became visible. Large, slightly concave tiles were laid directly upon a mortar bedding (Fig. 7). The vestiges of the fine plaster over the apse vault indicated an umbrella-like termination. Further examination revealed traces implying the existence of an earlier tile layer over the apse. Due to time constraints, however, it was not possible to conduct a thorough investigation for further construction details.

#### a) *The Main Dome*

The rush of the work prevented, likewise, any attempt for a proper examination of the main dome of the south building, since the contracting firm was making haste to finish the project before May 1997. One significant observation made during the reconstruction of the cavetto cornice was the identification of a fragment from the scalloped eaves of the dome, which suggested that the dome originally had an undulating cornice. The change to a horizontal roof cornice probably occurred in the eighteenth century, when the edifice is known to have undergone a substantial intervention in the course of which the porphyry columns supporting the main dome were replaced by the present compound piers in Ottoman baroque style. The filling of the tall apse windows of the south building and the addition of a “baroque” *mihrab* are part of the same restoration. In the light of evidence from the main dome, it is possible to assume that all the domes and cupolas of the Zeyrek buildings had scalloped eaves.

#### b) *Cupola over the Inner Narthex*

In the main church, the central bay of the gallery was crowned by a cupola raised on a polygonal drum.<sup>29</sup> The gallery floor had been cut out so that the cupola could be perceived from the ground floor. Today a timber ceiling conceals it from the view of visitors entering

<sup>28</sup> As stated in a record among the office files of Mr. F. Çuhadaroğlu, the responsible architect; however, no information is provided about where the amphorae were deposited.

<sup>29</sup> Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 75, pl. 10-3.



Figure 7. Zeyrek Camii, south church, fragments of in situ preserved ceramic tiles over the apse (M. Ahunbay, 1998).



Figure 8. Zeyrek Camii, south church, cupola over the inner narthex with radial cracks at its base (A. Neftçi, 1998).

the naos.<sup>30</sup> At the roof level, its drum abuts the tympanum wall of the western crossarm of the main building. In situ preserved pieces of earlier plaster were found on the tympanum, in the small confined area between the vault and the dome. This supports the argument that the cupola was an afterthought; it must have been constructed next to the finished surface of the west arm, probably at a later period, after the addition of the exonarthex. The removal of the concrete coating of the dome revealed eight cracks on the lower part of the hemisphere. Despite its very humble diameter, meridional cracks had developed probably as a result of tensile stresses (Fig. 8). The cracks had been filled with brick sherds, probably during a late Ottoman repair.

### *Future Work*

Practical work at the site came to a close in July 1998, when the funds allocated to the Zeyrek mosque by the Municipality of Istanbul were exhausted. Survey work, however, continued on the eastern façade of the funerary chapel; a 1/25 scaled drawing of the eastern elevation was produced during the summer of 1998. In 1999, documentation work continued at the gallery level of the north building.

The next stage of the work is to cover up all the roof surfaces, to repair the green stone cornices, and to renew the upper level window frames to stop further deterioration and attack by the pigeons. After finishing the urgent repairs to the roof, we hope to continue the restoration work at Zeyrek Camii in a more relaxed tempo, having the privilege to spend more time to study and contemplate, rather than rushing to keep in pace with a contractor's schedule.

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<sup>30</sup> Ebersolt and Thiers, *Les églises*, pl. 43.

## CHAPTER NINE

# ARCHITECTURE, ART AND KOMNENIAN IDEOLOGY AT THE PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY

Robert Ousterhout

Set dramatically on the crest of a hill in the heart of the old city of Istanbul, the triple church of the Pantokrator monastery (now Zeyrek Camii) was built ca. 1118–1136 by John II Komnenos and Irene Komnene and was one of the most important and influential undertakings in Middle Byzantine Constantinople.<sup>1</sup> A sprawling complex composed of three large interconnected churches, it was constructed in three phases, beginning with the south church, dedicated to Christ Pantokrator, which served as the *katholikon* of the monastery. The north church, dedicated to the Virgin Eleousa, was added in the second phase; it was open to the laity and was served by a lay clergy. Between these two, the middle church, the imperial mausoleum, or *heroon*, dedicated to St. Michael, was built. A south courtyard and an exonarthex were also added in the final phase.

Although much has been written about the history and the archaeology of the building—and, indeed, ongoing research is exposing new information about its construction history<sup>2</sup>—there has been little attempt to interpret the meaning of the building and its decoration. What were the messages it was meant to convey to its twelfth-century audience? This lack of interpretation is all the more surprising when we consider the survival of the monastic *typikon*, which was written by or for John II in 1136,<sup>3</sup> and the significance of the building as

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<sup>1</sup> A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople: Their History and Architecture* (London, 1912), 219–40; J. Ebersolt and A. Thiers, *Les églises de Constantinople* (Paris, 1913), 171–207; A. H. S. Megaw, “Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul,” *DOP* 17 (1963), 333–64; Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 209–15, with extensive bibliography; also Janin, *Églises*, 515–23, for a survey of the sources.

<sup>2</sup> R. Ousterhout, M. Ahunbay, and Z. Ahunbay, “Study and Restoration of the Zeyrek Camii in Istanbul: First Report, 1997–98,” forthcoming in *DOP* 54 (2000); and the paper by M. and Z. Ahunbay, “Restoration Work at the Zeyrek Camii, 1997–1998,” in this volume.

<sup>3</sup> For the *typikon*, see P. Gautier, “Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator,” *REB* 32 (1974), 1–145; and English translation by Robert Jordan in *Byzantine Monastic*

the dynastic mausoleum for the Komnenian family.<sup>4</sup> The mural mosaics mentioned in the *typikon* have vanished, but one critical part of the interior decoration is still preserved, the lavish *opus sectile* floor of the south church, which is the focus of this paper.

A unique work of art, nothing like the Pantokrator floor is preserved elsewhere. Although the technique of *opus sectile* is not uncommon in Byzantium and in the medieval West during the twelfth century,<sup>5</sup> the intricate, figural patterns of the Pantokrator floor are unparalleled. Cleaned and stabilized by the Byzantine Institute of America in the 1950s, the mosaic was thoroughly described by A. H. S. Megaw in the 1963 volume of *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.<sup>6</sup> Since that time, however, the main worship space of the Zeyrek Camii has been transferred from the central church to the south church, and consequently the mosaic is now completely overlaid with a raised wooden floor and carpeting. This means that neither I nor most living scholars have seen the mosaic in its totality, and we must now rely on photographs for our assessment of it.

The central space of the naos is divided into nine squares, with large panels and disks of porphyry and verde antique framed by an interlocking triple band of colored marbles (Figs. 1–2). The large disks have been removed for use elsewhere, but they were arranged in a quincunx pattern, and within the spandrels around each disk are inhabited rinceaux, filled with birds, ferocious animals, and mythological beasts, normally with an inhabited foliate roundel flanked by two smaller inhabited roundels in each corner (Fig. 3). To the north and south, the panels set between the columns are framed by non-figural patterns, and the floor in the north and south aisles are also non-figural. To the east and west, the panels between the columns have framing bands that include small disks with individual land and sea animals represented in the spandrels. Further to the west, at the main

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*Foundation Documents*, eds. J. Thomas and A. C. Hero (Washington, D.C., 2000), 725–81, with notes and commentary.

<sup>4</sup> R. Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 1999), 120–1; note also E. Congdon, "Imperial Commemoration and Ritual in the *Typikon* of the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator," *REB* 54 (1996), 161–99.

<sup>5</sup> H. Kier, *Der mittelalterliche Schmuckfußboden* (Düsseldorf, 1970); A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, "L'opus sectile pavimentale in area bizantina," *Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico, Atti del 1° Colloquio* (Ravenna, 1993), 643–63; U. Peschlow, "Zum byzantinischen opus sectile-Boden," in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, eds. R. M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann (Mainz, 1983), 435–47.

<sup>6</sup> Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work," 335–40.

entrance, a large disk is surrounded by a wheel with the symbols of the zodiac and personifications of the four seasons (Fig. 4). To the east, at the entrance to the bema, another large disk is framed by scenes from the life of Samson in the spandrels (Fig. 5). Rectangular panels extend to either side of the east and west disks, their inner framing bands filled with scenes of farming and hunting, and their thin outer bands with land and sea creatures. The excavations and cleaning by the Byzantine Institute of America exposed fragments of additional animals and fish, as well as parts of bucolic and hunting scenes.<sup>7</sup>

The *opus sectile* floor belongs to the first phase of construction at the Pantokrator, which comprises the south church in its totality, and which was built under John II beginning in 1118. In a later phase, toward the middle of the century, John's son and successor Manuel I extended the *opus sectile* floor to the north, through an arch in the wall, to connect to the relic of the Stone of the Unction, which was displayed beneath the arch, and to his own tomb, which was apparently centrally positioned in the middle church (Figs. 1, 6).<sup>8</sup> The *opus sectile* addition utilizes the same repertory of patterns and images as does the central area of the naos. In both, all figures and animals conform to the east-west axis and were meant to be viewed from the west.

Throughout, the surfaces of the mosaic are much abraded, but originally the figures were detailed in a sgraffito technique on white marble, set against a background of flat red or green stone. Some sgraffito details are preserved in a few panels. In a detail from Manuel's addition, for example, a foliate rinceau emerges from the mouth of a lion (Fig. 6, lower left). But for the most part the incisions have disappeared, giving remaining elements a cookie-cutter-like appearance and rendering many of the details and some of the subjects illegible. The rinceau emerging from the lion's mouth, for example, would be completely unintelligible without the sgraffito details.

The iconography of the *opus sectile* floor can give us some insight into the meaning of the Pantokrator church to its twelfth-century audience. Although the *opus sectile* conforms in technique and organization to contemporaneous examples, such as the floor of St. John

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., figs. B-C.

<sup>8</sup> On this expansion, *ibid.*, 342, and C. Mango, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments," *DOP* 23-24 (1969-70), 372-5.



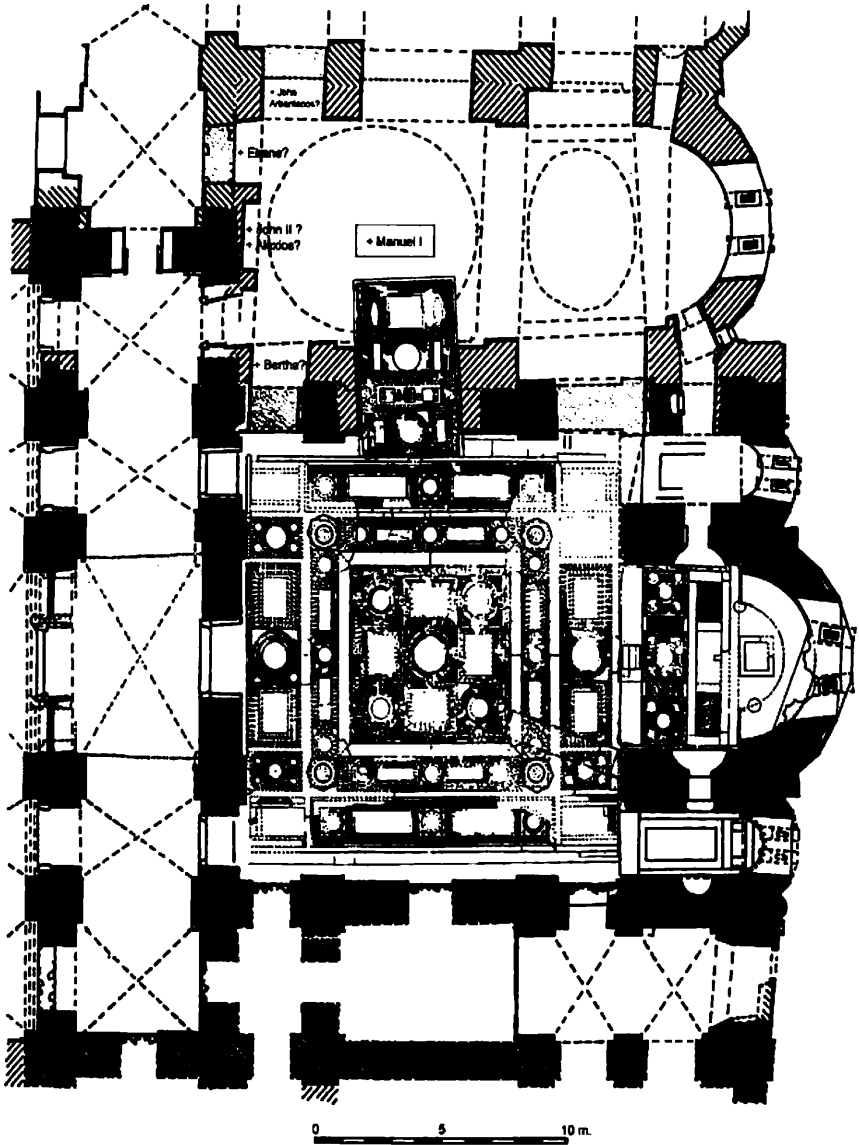


Figure 1. Istanbul, Zeyrek Camii, plan of the south and central churches, showing the disposition of the *opus sectile* floor and the hypothetical positions of the imperial tombs. Author, based on Megaw.



Figure 2. Zeyrek Camii, floor of the south church, before restoration, looking east. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks.



Figure 3. Same, detail of central area, with lions, mythological creatures, and fighting animals. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks.

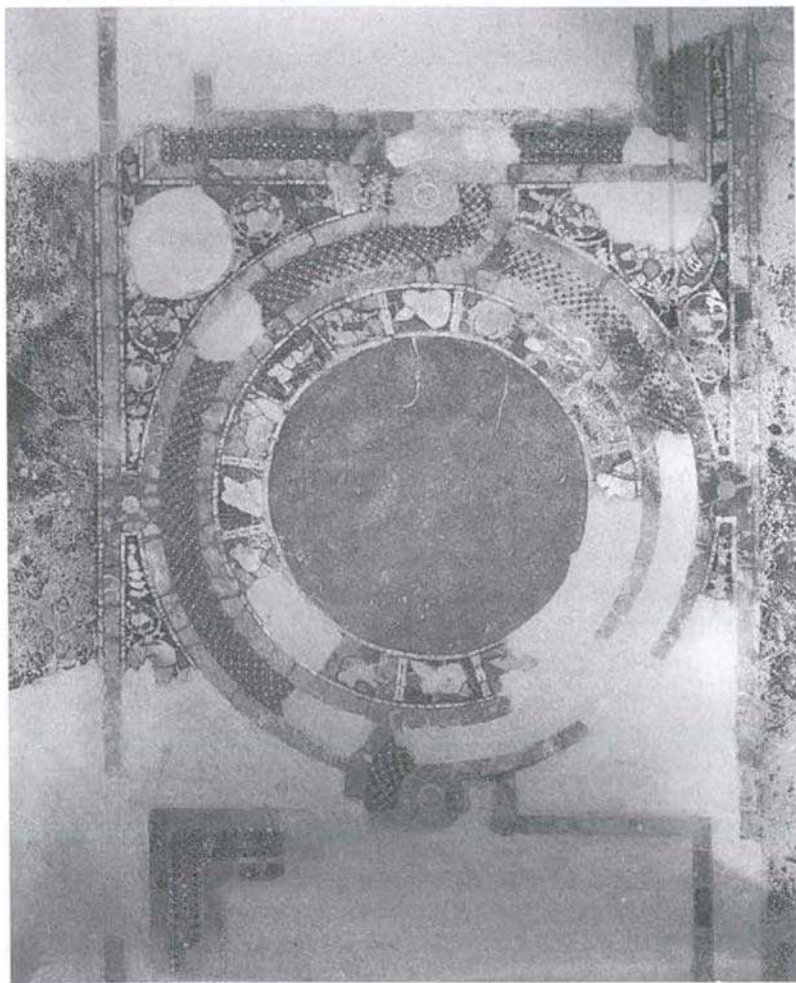


Figure 4. Same, detail of west area, showing the wheel of the zodiac. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks.

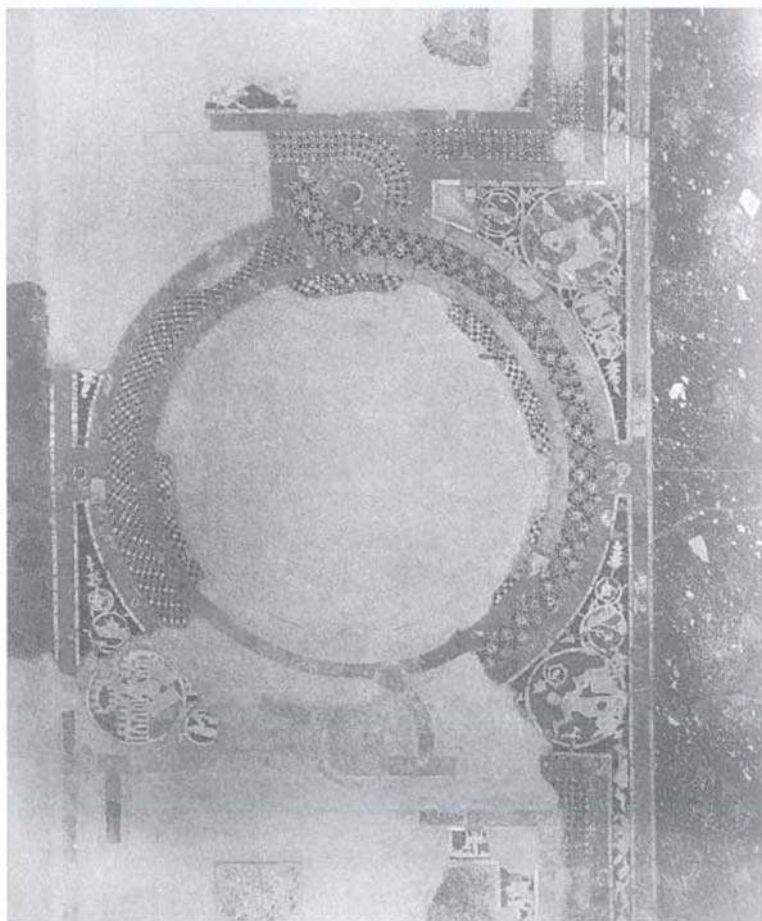


Figure 5. Same, detail of eastern area, showing scenes from the life of Samson: (clockwise from upper left) Samson removing the gates of Gaza; a missing scene; Samson and the lion; Samson slaying the Philistines. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks.

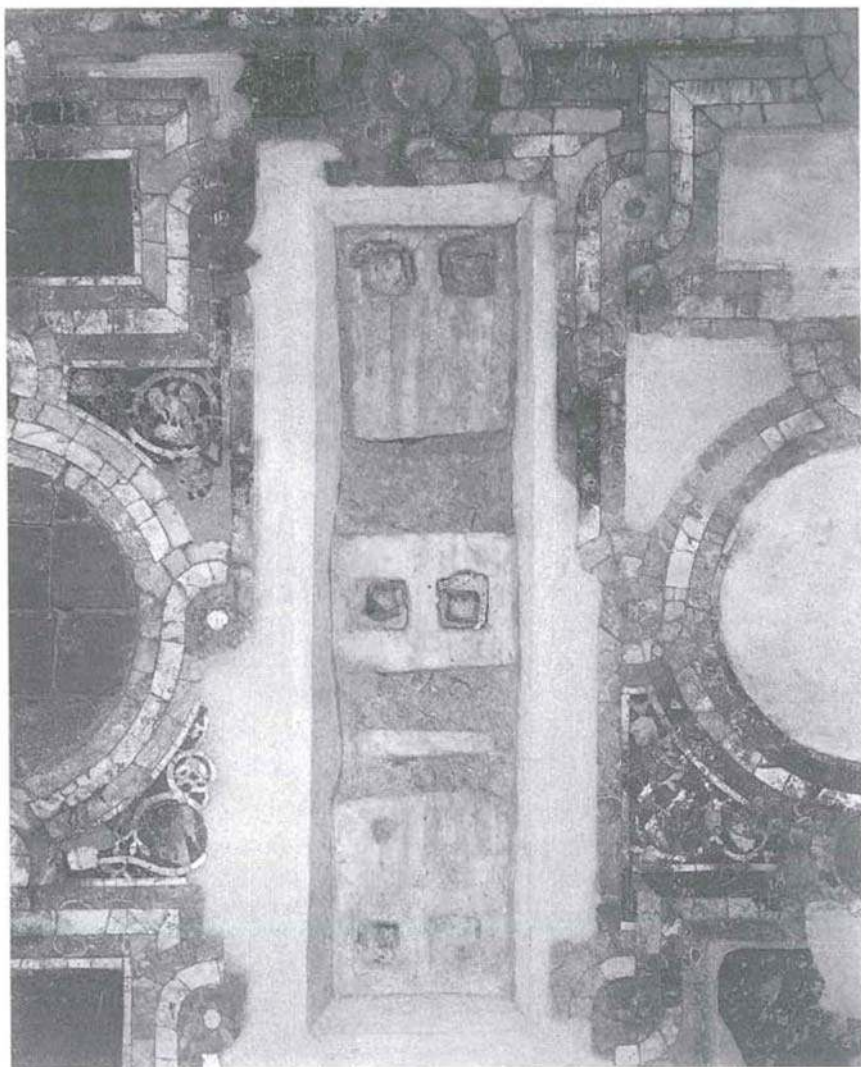


Figure 6. Floor in the area connecting the south and central churches, with the setting for the Stone of the Unction. Photo: Dumbarton Oaks.

in the Stoudios<sup>9</sup> (which must also be Middle Byzantine in date), its iconography is unique. In general terms, it gives a sense of the ostentatiously decorated interior favored in the period, as well as of the luxuriousness befitting an imperial foundation. On the other hand, as this paper will suggest, the iconography can be read in two different and complementary ways: first, as a reflection of Early Christian themes, and second, as an expression of Komnenian ideology.

Let us begin with the Early Christian themes. For virtually every detail represented in the floor decoration, a similar subject may be found in Early Christian mosaics. For example, Henry Maguire has shown the popularity of creatures of the land and sea in floor mosaics, representing the bounty of the earth and the story of Creation.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the bands of fishes and animals at the east and west ends correspond to the "earth and ocean" themes popular in the early floor mosaics and may be representative of the order within the Christian cosmos. More specifically, the combination of mythical beasts, hunting scenes, animal combats, non-violent animals, and bucolic scenes parallels the imagery of the Great Palace floor mosaic, which may now be securely dated to the early sixth century.<sup>11</sup> Even the use of the inhabited scroll as a frame is perhaps comparable. Both floors include the motif of an eagle clutching a snake with its talons, gryphons, bucolic scenes, animal combats, and hunters.<sup>12</sup> We might suggest a general meaning for the Pantokrator floor as an expression of the ideals underlying Byzantine social and political order, following James Trilling's interpretation of the Great Palace floor, as well as general connotations of rulership and power.<sup>13</sup> The Great Palace floor was, however, covered by the time the Pantokrator was constructed, so the relationship between the two floors is a general and indirect one—that is, both mosaic floors represent themes appropriate to imperial monuments.

The more specific subjects in the *opus sectile* floor also find Early Christian comparisons. The life of Samson is occasionally repre-

<sup>9</sup> Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work," 339.

<sup>10</sup> H. Maguire, *Earth and Ocean: The Terrestrial World in Early Byzantine Art* (University Park, Penn., 1987).

<sup>11</sup> W. Jobst, B. Erdal, C. Gurtner, *Istanbul. Das grosse byzantinische Palastmosaik* (Istanbul, 1997).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. 9, 12, 19–23, 33–34, among others.

<sup>13</sup> J. Trilling, "The Soul of the Empire: Style and Meaning in the Mosaic Pavement of the Byzantine Imperial Palace in Constantinople," *DOP* 43 (1989), 27–72.

sented, as on the famous church floor from Mopsuestia,<sup>14</sup> and the scene of Samson and the lion may have also found its way onto the Great Palace floor.<sup>15</sup> And although the zodiac was uncommon in the Early Christian centuries, other representations of the annual cycle were popular. Several synagogues in Palestine preserve images of the wheel of the zodiac,<sup>16</sup> and, more commonly, the annual cycle is represented by personifications of the seasons and of the months, which appear on a variety of floors.<sup>17</sup>

Rather than deliberate the meaning of the individual Early Christian images, I prefer to address the larger question of why these are used in the Pantokrator, for I believe the references to the past are intentional and are part of a larger concern with history. There was clearly a consciousness of the past in twelfth-century Byzantium, as has been discussed elsewhere.<sup>18</sup> The Pantokrator monastery had a direct connection to Early Christian history through its location. It was almost certainly built on the site of a Late Antique *oikos*. Dramatically set overlooking the city, and also within the shadow of the church of the Holy Apostles, the monastic property would have been a prime piece of real estate in the early centuries of Constantinople. Paul Magdalino has suggested that this may have been the location of the estate known as *tes Hilaras* in the sources.<sup>19</sup> In fact, recent studies indicate that much of the building material at the Pantokrator is reused, perhaps taken from its predecessor on the site.<sup>20</sup>

Early Christian themes and motifs are also repeated elsewhere in the decoration of the Pantokrator. In addition to the reuse of architectural sculpture from the nearby early sixth-century church of

<sup>14</sup> E. Kitzinger, "The Samson Floor at Mopsuestia," *DOP* 27 (1973), 135–44.

<sup>15</sup> As suggested by Trilling, "Soul of the Empire," 27–72.

<sup>16</sup> W. Hübner, *Zodiacus Christianus. Jüdisch-christliche Adaptationen des Tierkreises von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Königstein, 1983); also G. Kühnel, "Gemeinsame Kunstsprache und rivalisierende Ikonographie: Jüdische und christliche Kunst in Galiläa vom 4.–7. Jahrhundert," *Oriens Christianus* 79 (1995), 197–223.

<sup>17</sup> D. Levi, "The Allegories of the Months in Classical Art," *Art Bulletin* 23 (1941).

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, R. Macrides, "Perception of the Past in the Twelfth-Century Canonists," in *To Βυζάντιο κατά τον 12ο αιώνα*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Athens, 1991), 589–99.

<sup>19</sup> Magdalino, *CP médiévale*, 46.

<sup>20</sup> Bricks have Late Antique brickstamps, including some in Latin, of probable Constantinian date; in addition, a *tabula ansata* in second use, with an inscription of an official named Constantine, is found in the exonarthex; see Ousterhout, Ahunbay, and Ahunbay, "Study and Restoration," fig. 11.



H. Polyuktos,<sup>21</sup> we find Early Christian motifs copied in the architectural decoration of the building. For example, the upper cornice of the north church replicates both the profile and the inhabited vine scroll of an Early Christian cornice now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.<sup>22</sup>

The meaning of these numerous Early Christian references is illuminated by the language of the *typikon*, in which the central funeral church is referred to as being “in the form of a *heroon*”—that is, the shrine of a hero.<sup>23</sup> The application of this obscure, Late Antique term to the dynastic mausoleum of the Komnenian family is purposeful, for it equated the Pantokrator with the nearby church of the Holy Apostles, the imperial mausoleum *par excellence*, which functioned as the mausoleum of Constantine the Great and his imperial successors. Moreover, the use of the term set up a comparison between the Komnenoi and the family of Constantine.<sup>24</sup> Thus, the application of both Early Christian terminology and an Early Christian visual language to the Pantokrator helped to situate the building and its patrons in relationship to the Byzantine past.

This interpretation leads directly to a second level of meaning in the *opus sectile* floor. Although all of the images may have had Early Christian antecedents, they have a specific meaning within a Komnenian context. The wild and mythological creatures of the central floor, for example, are also found in the vocabulary of heraldry, which was developing in western Europe at this time,<sup>25</sup> and they had connotations of power and authority. More important are two unusual subjects, the zodiac and the Samson cycle, which merit further analysis.

The wheel of the zodiac was occasionally represented in astrological manuscripts,<sup>26</sup> but within the context of church decoration,

<sup>21</sup> Megaw, “Notes on Recent Work,” 344–6 and figs. 7–9.

<sup>22</sup> T. F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, Penn., 1976), pls. 10–40 and 10–41, for which a significant Early Christian parallel was found near the Rüstem Paşa Camii and is now in the Archaeological Museum; Megaw, “Notes on Recent Work,” 345–6 and figs. 7–9. The pieces from H. Polyuktos may have only been reused in the 13th century or later.

<sup>23</sup> *Typikon*, chap. 29; tr. Gautier, 73, 81; Jordan, 753, 756.

<sup>24</sup> P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 117; P. Grierson, “The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337–1042),” *DOP* 16 (1962), 6; *De cer.*, I, 641–9.

<sup>25</sup> M. Pastoureau, *Les Armoiries* (Turnhout, 1976), 24–7; also A. V. Solovjev, “Les emblèmes héraldiques de Byzance et les Slaves,” *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 7 (1935), 119–64.

<sup>26</sup> H.-G. Grundel, *Zodiakos. Tierkreisbilder im Altertum* (Mainz, 1992); Hübner, *Zodiacus Christianus*, esp. 101–19. P. Magdalino promises a new study of Byzantine astrology.

the Pantokrator zodiac is unique in Byzantine art (Fig. 4). Although the zodiac might be viewed in general terms as part of a larger theme evident in the floor, representing order in the Christian cosmos, its exceptional setting at the threshold of the naos encourages a more specific reading. Surrounding a porphyry disk, the wheel is divided into sixteen segments containing busts of the four seasons at the cardinal points, framed by knotted columns and set against a black marble ground. The personifications are now much abraded, but they were apparently depicted holding attributes of the seasons, perhaps branches. The twelve signs of the zodiac are set against alternating black and red grounds, divided into groups of three.

The appearance of the zodiac at the Pantokrator may be associated with a twelfth-century fascination with astrology. Writers of the period were much concerned with the probability of fate, with questions concerning predestination and free will, and the possible autonomous development of history.<sup>27</sup> Within the context of this discussion, astrology was revived as a part of a "scientific" attempt to predict the future, and it seems to have been an accepted part of Komnenian family values. Anna Komnene appears to have been a bit suspicious of astrology, and she claims that Alexios I was opposed to it,<sup>28</sup> but other family members were accepting of it. Thanks to this family interest, we have the precise records of the birth hours of the royal children of Alexios I, from which their horoscopes could be cast.<sup>29</sup> It was also said that Manuel I had an astrologer standing by at the birth of his son Alexios II.<sup>30</sup> Horoscopes were also cast for the coronations of Alexios I, Manuel I, and probably others. Manuel (about whom we are best informed) enthusiastically endorsed astrological pursuits, and his court poets wrote treatises on astrological subjects.

Astrology was not universally accepted, however, and in fact, Manuel's enthusiasm for the subject was frankly condemned by a monk from the Pantokrator monastery, who denounced all astrologers as heretics.<sup>31</sup> As a patron of the sciences, however, Manuel felt obliged either to write or to commission a response, in which he claimed that astrology,

<sup>27</sup> See Magdalino, *Empire*, 377–82, for much of the following discussion.

<sup>28</sup> Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, VI.7; tr. E. R. A. Sewter (Harmondsworth, 1969), 193–5.

<sup>29</sup> A. Kazhdan, "Die Liste der Kinder des Alexios I in einer Moskauer Handschrift," *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben*, II (Berlin, 1970), 233–7.

<sup>30</sup> Nik. Chon., I, 169; discussed by Magdalino, *Empire*, 7–8.

<sup>31</sup> F. Cumont and F. Boll, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum Graecorum*, V/1 (Brussels, 1904), 108–40; discussed by Magdalino, *Empire*, 377.

like medicine, relied on “expert guesswork” to interpret the laws of nature. His response was summarily dismissed by Michael Glykas,<sup>32</sup> and his wholehearted acceptance of astrology was later harshly criticized by Niketas Choniates.<sup>33</sup> The zodiac on the Pantokrator floor thus stands as a signitive element in Komnenian ideology.

It may also be noteworthy that astrology was similarly revived in western Europe about the same time, with the zodiac similarly appearing in prominent positions on medieval church floors.<sup>34</sup> There has also been an attempt to give an astrological interpretation to the patterns of interlocking circles characteristic of Cosmatesque floors in Italy and elsewhere, but with little basis.<sup>35</sup>

Scenes from the life of Samson appear at the entrance to the bema (Fig. 5). Four scenes were set into foliate roundels in the spandrels, and the three surviving may be identified as Samson and the lion, Samson smiting the Philistines with the jawbone of an ass, and Samson removing the gates of Gaza. The missing scene was most probably Samson destroying the house of the Philistines. Although unusual, the Samson cycle seems entirely appropriate in a Komnenian context, for Samson could be viewed both as an antetype for Christ and, perhaps more importantly, as an antetype for a valiant emperor.

A variety of Byzantine rulers were compared to Samson. In the *Vita Basilii*, for example, Michael III is reported as saying of Basil, “All he has is valor, as did Samson of old.”<sup>36</sup> Figures of authority as diverse as Gagik Arzruni<sup>37</sup> and the *ghazi* father of Digenes Akrites<sup>38</sup> are compared to Samson. Samson would have also offered a good comparison for the Komnenian emperors, who were distinguished as courageous warriors and hunters, and who were occasionally impul-

<sup>32</sup> Magdalino, *Empire*, 377.

<sup>33</sup> Nik. Chon., I, 95–6; discussed by Magdalino, *Empire*, 5–6.

<sup>34</sup> See among others, E. Kitzinger, “World Map and Fortune’s Wheel: A Medieval Floor Mosaic in Turin,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 117/5 (1973), 343–73; W. Tronzo, “Moral Hieroglyphs: Chess and Dice at San Savino in Piacenza,” *Gesta* 16/2 (1977), 15–26; C. Nicklies, “Cosmology and the Labors of the Months at Piacenza: The Crypt Mosaics at San Savino,” *Gesta* 34/2 (1995), 108–25.

<sup>35</sup> See for example, E. Unger, “Das Weltbild Mosaik der Sophienkirche,” *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 11 (1935), 445–7.

<sup>36</sup> Discussed by L. Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge, 1999), 184.

<sup>37</sup> David Artsruni, *History of the House of the Artsrunik*, tr. R. Thomson (Detroit, 1985), 366 and n. 4. I thank L. Jones for this reference.

<sup>38</sup> E. Jeffreys, ed. and tr., *Digenis Akritis* (Cambridge, 1998), IV.24–5.

sive and sensuous. Moreover, palace decoration in this period favored narratives of the great deeds of classical and Old Testament heroes, whose actions prefigured those of the emperor.<sup>39</sup> The great cycles of the illustrated Octateuchs seem to have emerged in the family circles of the Komnenoi, and these included extensive cycles of the story of Samson.<sup>40</sup>

Perhaps most significant to our discussion is the twelfth-century romance of *Digenes Akrites*, which most scholars now place within the milieu of the Komnenian court. In the Grottaferrata version, the palace of Digenes is described in detail, including a lavishly decorated dining room with a mosaic ceiling featuring scenes of Old Testament heroes (including Samson, David, Moses, and Joshua), mythological and Homeric scenes (including Achilles, Agamemnon and Odysseus), and the history of Alexander.<sup>41</sup> The first of the narratives to be described is the story of Samson, from which four scenes are singled out: the battle with the Philistines, the lion, the gates of Gaza, and the destruction of the house of the Philistines—that is, Digenes Akrites' dining room featured exactly the same scenes that appear on the Pantokrator floor. We may conclude that the Samson scenes had a special imperial resonance in the Komnenian period, and that they may reflect contemporaneous palace decoration.

Other narrative scenes may have been included on the floor program, but these have not survived. Around the zodiac, for example, it appears that additional scenes were included in the spandrels, and in the southwest corner are fragments of what Megaw tentatively identified as a battle scene (Fig. 4, lower right).<sup>42</sup> It might also be Alexander in a chariot, but too little is preserved to be certain. Here and in the other spandrels the smaller foliate roundels appear to have contained figures rather than animals, but, again, not enough detail is preserved to identify them. In any event, the subjects of these scenes are unclear.

Nevertheless, it may be possible to suggest a connection between the Samson cycle and the zodiac. In the story of Samson, told in Judges 14–16, the birth and achievements of the hero are preordained,

<sup>39</sup> L.-A. Hunt, *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam* (London, 1998), 55–6.

<sup>40</sup> J. Lowdon, *The Octateuchs: A Study in Byzantine Manuscript Illustration* (University Park, Penn., 1992), 57–60.

<sup>41</sup> *Digenis Akritis*, VII.63–70.

<sup>42</sup> Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work," 337.

his strength is the gift of God, and his deeds, however obscure, are part of a divine plan. His glory is undiminished, even though his fate is predetermined. Samson is thus an apposite choice of antetype for an astrologically inclined emperor.

Curiously, all these themes may seem to be more appropriate for Manuel I than for his father John II. The comparison of Manuel with Samson seems particularly apt. Not only a great hunter who occasionally battled larger-than-life beasts, Manuel was a fearless warrior, who was also impulsive and not without an amorous streak.<sup>43</sup> But the seeming appropriateness may be due to the better documentation for the personality and reign of Manuel. For all his good deeds, John II remains a shadowy personality, characterized simply as a pious warrior,<sup>44</sup> for whom astrology might seem inappropriate. In fact, we know very little about John's interests, although we do know that Manuel held his father in high regard.

Although it would not seem possible to reassign the floor to the patronage of Manuel, he seems to have played a special role at the Pantokrator at a slightly later point in time. In this respect, the addition to the *opus sectile* floor to connect to the tomb of Manuel (Figs. 1, 6) adds another level of resonance to the meaning of the building and enhances the themes already discussed.

The funeral chapel, or *heroon*, was already constructed by John II before the *typikon* was written in 1136. Within the curious twin-domed chapel, a set of four imperial tombs was grouped at the west end. Each tomb was set into an arcosolium, and these included the tombs of John, Irene, their son Alexios (who was possibly buried in the tomb of his father, as the *typikon* requests), and possibly of an important cousin, and of Manuel's first wife, Bertha of Sulzbach (Fig. 1). According to the *typikon*, scenes from the death, entombment, and resurrection of Christ were represented in the arches and vaults above,<sup>45</sup> with the Anastasis and the Holy Women at the Tomb apparently set in prominent relationship to the Komnenian tombs. If we can go by the scale of the surviving lunettes, these were exceptionally large and prominent images. The early thirteenth-century fresco

<sup>43</sup> P. Magdalino, "Eros and the King of Amours: Some Observations on *Hysmine and Hysminias*," *DOP* 46 (1992), 197-204, esp. 203 n. 45.

<sup>44</sup> Note the brief characterization by C. Brand, A. Cutler, and A. Kazhdan in *ODB* II, 1046-7.

<sup>45</sup> Tr. Jordan, 754. The two *apsides* should refer to the large lunettes on either side of the *heroon*, not to apses.

of the Holy Women at the Tomb from the church of the Ascension at Mileševa provides a good comparison; there the scene is set just above the tomb of King Vladislav.<sup>46</sup>

Manuel's tomb was set centrally into the western bay of the *heroon* and is described by Niketas Choniates as a gloomy monument of dark stone topped by seven protuberances; a drawing of 1750 shows a curious stone then preserved at the Topkapı Palace that may represent its lid.<sup>47</sup> When Manuel's tomb was added, so too was the Stone of the Unction, a relic from the entombment of Christ, recently transported from Ephesus to Constantinople, which, upon its arrival, Manuel is said to have carried up from the Bukoleon harbor on his shoulders.<sup>48</sup> The stone was set up next to the tomb, presumably where the setting is exposed in the surviving floor (Figs. 1, 6), evoking an obvious comparison between the emperor and Christ. This association of emperor and Christ is encouraged by the lengthy poem inscribed on the base of the Stone of the Unction, which compared the mourning of the holy women over the deceased Christ to the lamentations of the empress for her dead husband.<sup>49</sup>

Poem, relic, and tomb would also have had a special resonance set beneath the mosaic of the Holy Women at the Tomb. At the same time, the setting for the ensemble of tombs, relic, and images was a unique, twin-domed church. I suspect here a special symbolic relationship between the *heroon* and a second great Constantinian foundation, the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, which marked the sites of the events commemorated in the Komnenian decorative program. In fact, the church of the Holy Sepulchre was being rebuilt by the Crusaders simultaneously with the construction of the Pantokrator church in the early twelfth century, and it also

<sup>46</sup> For Mileševa, see S. Čurčić, "Medieval Royal Tombs in the Balkans: An Aspect of the 'East or West' Question," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29 (1984), 175–94, fig. 1; a similar scene was featured in relationship to the tomb of John's brother, the *sebastokrator* Isaac, at the Kosmosoteira at Pherrai; see Ousterhout, *Master Builders*, 122–5.

<sup>47</sup> C. Mango, "Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1750," *DOP* 16 (1962), 397–9.

<sup>48</sup> Discussed by Mango, "Three Byzantine Sarcophagi," 398–9.

<sup>49</sup> For the poem, see Mango, "Notes" (note 8 above), 372–5; the poem is preserved in the *Geography* of Meletios of Ioannina: Μελετίου γεωγραφία παλαιά και νέα (Venice, 1728), 426. The comparison between Manuel and Christ is also evident in Byzantine literature, art, and numismatics; see the discussion by I. Kalavrezou, "Imperial Relations with the Church in the Art of the Komnenians," in *To Βυζάντιο κατά τον 12ο αιώνα*, ed. Oikonomides, 25–36, esp. 32.

took on a twin-domed form.<sup>50</sup> Could this have been the model for the unique form of the Pantokrator *heroon*? The decorative program of the Holy Sepulchre had many of the same scenes, and the tombs of the crusader kings were placed in analogous positions within it. The many ties between the Komnenian rulers and the crusader kings may have encouraged this symbolic association, and we know of extensive Komnenian patronage in Jerusalem and the Holy Land as well. John II had wanted to make a pilgrimage there; his brother Isaac succeeded in doing so.<sup>51</sup> But most importantly, the Holy Sepulchre was a foundation strongly associated with Constantine the Great; it thus could also be regarded as a *heroon*, and it also had immense ideological significance.

In the final analysis, the message of the Pantokrator was rich and multi-layered, evoking the greatness of both the Byzantine past and the Komnenian present. Important for both was the allusion to Constantine I's two great foundations in the East, the Holy Apostles and the Holy Sepulchre. In fact, the comparison of Manuel with Christ at the Pantokrator parallels in a way the message of Constantine's original burial, surrounded by the cenotaphs of the twelve Apostles in his mausoleum.<sup>52</sup> In their mausoleum at the Pantokrator, the valiant Komnenian emperors could be lauded as new Samsons, but also as new Constantines. Like Constantine the Great, who was guided in his actions by signals in the heavens, the role of the astrologically inclined Komnenian emperors within the divine plan was preordained. If there was ever a question about the legitimacy of the Komnenian succession—and there was—it was put to rest where the Komnenoi were put to rest, in the intertwined messages of imperial authority and predestination at the Pantokrator.

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<sup>50</sup> J. Folda, *The Art of the Crusaders in the Holy Land, 1098–1187* (Cambridge, 1995), 175–245.

<sup>51</sup> John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, I.25; tr. C. Brand (New York, 1976), 28; Magdalino, *Empire*, 41–53; 66–78; note also A. Weyl Carr, "The Mural Paintings of Abu Ghosh and the Patronage of Manuel Comnenus in the Holy Land," in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda (Oxford, 1982), 215–44.

<sup>52</sup> For the impact of Constantine's tomb on later burials, see Ćurčić, "Medieval Royal Tombs," esp. 183.

SECTION FOUR

IMPERIAL MONUMENTS AND THEIR LEGACY:  
TEXTUAL AND ICONOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE





## CHAPTER TEN

# THE MEDIEVAL FLOORS OF THE GREAT PALACE

Henry Maguire

Everyone knows the magnificent mosaic floor of the Great Palace, splendidly restored and displayed in its new museum, and now dated to the sixth century by the evidence of the underlying pottery.<sup>1</sup> Much less familiar, however, are the later floors of the palace, the medieval pavements of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries, which have not survived, but which are described in the texts. As we shall see, the literary descriptions are sufficiently precise for us to be able to reconstruct some of these later floors in considerable detail. The purpose of the following remarks is threefold. First, to attempt, as far as possible, a reconstruction of the lost medieval floors in the Great Palace, with the aid of the descriptions in the texts and also of pavements that survive elsewhere in churches. The second aim of this paper will be to identify some works of art outside of Constantinople that may have echoed the pavements of the Great Palace. My third aim will be to set the medieval floors of the palace within their art historical context, both aesthetic and iconographic.

Before we look more closely at the medieval floors, it is necessary to return to the pavements of the sixth-century palace, which provide points of comparison and contrast with the floors that were laid down in later centuries. From the *De aedificiis* of Procopius, we know that at least one pavement in the palace was of marble. Describing the Chalke, the vestibule of the palace, Procopius writes that "the whole interior up to the mosaic of the ceiling is reveted with beautiful marbles, not only the upright surfaces, but the entire floor as well." Procopius adds that most of this marble was Proconnesian.<sup>2</sup> We know, however, from the excavation of the great peristyle mosaic

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<sup>1</sup> W. Jobst and H. Vettors, *Mosaikforschung im Kaiserpalast von Konstantinopel*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Denkschriften 228 (Vienna, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> *De aed.*, I.10.19; translation by C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 110.

that other floors of the sixth-century palace were not composed of marble slabs but of mosaic tesserae depicting a great variety of figured subjects. The excavated mosaics survive from three sides of an open court. Their motifs have been grouped into thematic categories by James Trilling,<sup>3</sup> and may briefly be summarized here. Many of the scenes involve animals, either portrayed on their own, or fighting each other, such as an elephant and a lion, or an eagle and a serpent; or we see animals preying upon each other, such as a bear attacking a kid or a fawn; or the animals are being fought or hunted by humans, such as the leopard shown in Figure 1. There are also several scenes of rural daily life, such as herdsmen and their flocks (Fig. 2), and there are at least two possible personifications, a reclining semi-nude female figure, and a mask of Ocean, with his hair and beard turned into seaweed.<sup>4</sup>

This range of subject matter, a variety of animals, hunts, rural pursuits and nature personifications, can be matched in countless other late antique floors from palatial villas and churches; it expresses, in general terms, ideas of the fecundity of the natural world, its exploitation, and its control. In this particular setting, as Dr. Trilling has argued, there may be a more complex overlay of imperial symbolism. However, the underlying message of domination of the earth's resources is shared with many other late Roman mosaics with a similar subject matter.

We turn, now, to the later flooring of the Great Palace. Both archaeology and literary sources reveal that between the seventh and the ninth centuries a large number of expensive pavements were constructed. These were either composed of slabs of marble or of smaller pieces of stone cut into geometrical shapes and arranged in patterns as *opus sectile*. Occasionally mosaic tesserae were set into the marble compositions, but we do not have any evidence for uninterrupted tessellated mosaics similar to the sixth-century compositions around the peristyle court. On the contrary, when the buildings of the peristyle court were remodeled, at an unknown date, the mosaics around the courtyard were covered over by a plain flooring of marble slabs.

The new floor consisted of Proconnesian marble slabs between two to two and a half meters long and one to one and a half meters

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<sup>3</sup> J. Trilling, "The Soul of the Empire: Style and Meaning in the Mosaic Pavement of the Byzantine Imperial Palace in Constantinople," *DOP* 43 (1989), 27–72, esp. 55, 69–71.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, figs. A, 13, 20, 26, 30, 40.



Figure 1. Istanbul, Great Palace, peristyle mosaic, detail: hunter and leopard. Source: author.

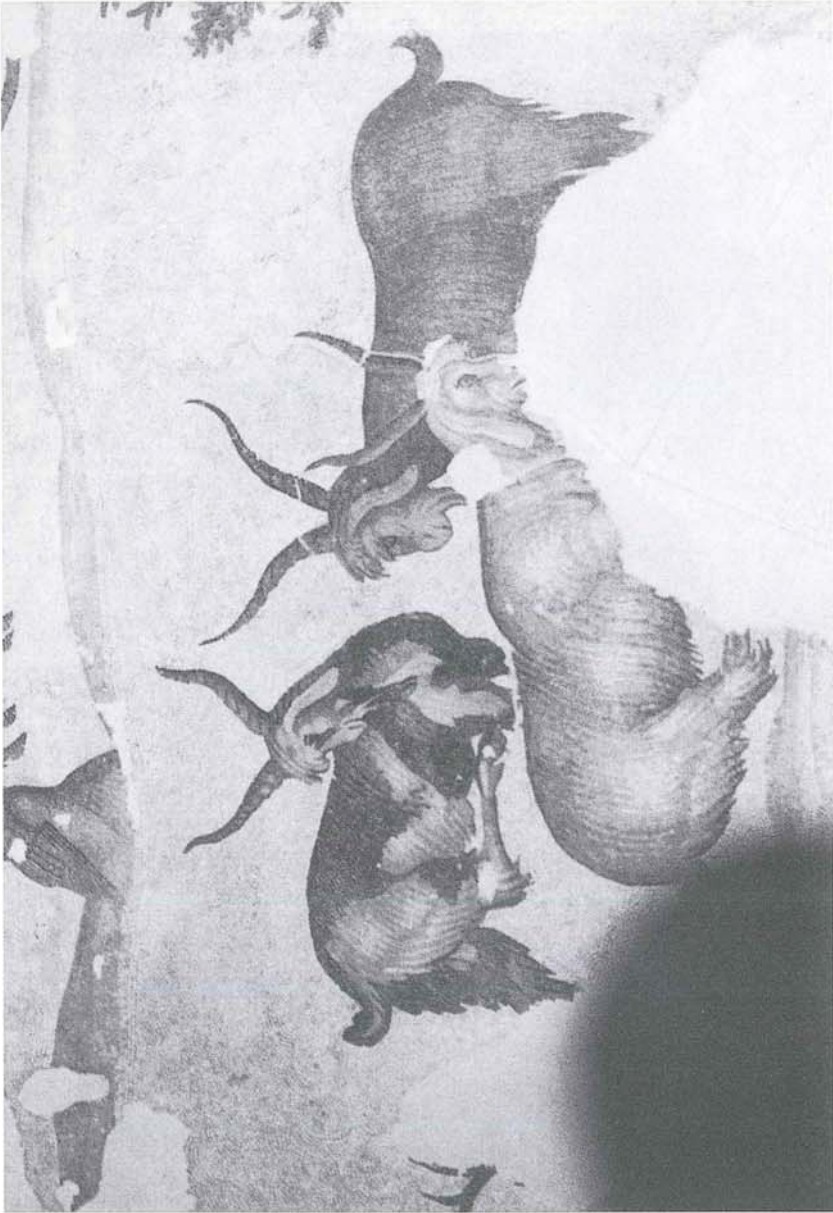


Figure 2. Istanbul, Great Palace, peristyle mosaic, detail: goats. Source: author.

wide which were laid at a level from twelve to forty-five centimeters above the sixth-century mosaic, over an intervening fill of stones, marble chips, and mortar (Fig. 3). The construction of the new floor was part of a general remodeling of the courtyard, which included the conversion of the north-east walk of the peristyle into an enclosed corridor, the removal of the north-west walk, and its replacement by a monumental door and a flight of shallow marble steps, which led down into the court. The new Proconnesian floor was evidently in use for a long time—long enough for the marble pavement to have been in need of some repairs, which were effected in what the excavators called “artificial stone.” Eventually, the complex was destroyed by fire.<sup>5</sup>

The substitution of the tessellated mosaic floor of the peristyle by one composed of large marble slabs is important archaeological evidence for what was evidently a striking feature of the medieval palace—the richness of its marble floors.<sup>6</sup> These new pavements feature prominently in the descriptions contained in the texts. The earliest to be recorded, after the marble floor of Justinian’s Chalke, is the pavement of the Justinianos—or *triklinos*—the hall built by Justinian II during his first reign of 685–695. According to the verse chronicle of Constantine Manasses, the emperor “made its walls lustrous with the fiery gleam of golden mosaic tesserae, and its floor with beautifully colored marbles.”<sup>7</sup> Further information about the pavement of the Justinianos can be gleaned from passages in the tenth-century compilation, the *Book of Ceremonies*, which describe ceremonial entries into the hall. From these it appears that the marble pavement of the Justinianos incorporated several large *omphalia*, or circles of stone.<sup>8</sup>

The text of Theophanes Continuatus, which includes many descriptions of buildings erected in the Great Palace, is notable for the amount of attention that it gives to their floors; clearly, marble

<sup>5</sup> G. Brett et al., *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors* (Oxford, 1947), 8–16; *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors, Second Report*, ed. D. Talbot Rice, (Edinburgh, 1958), 10–23.

<sup>6</sup> Another marble floor, of *opus sectile*, survives in the Boukoleon palace. See N. Asgari, “Istanbul Temel Kazılarında Haberler—1983,” *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 2 (1984), 43–62, figs. 13–5.

<sup>7</sup> *Compendium chronicum*, lines 3870–71, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1837), 166.

<sup>8</sup> *Der cer.*, I, 1.11, 1.64, 2.2; ed. A. Vogt, *Le Livre des Cérémonies*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1935–39), I, 78.20–21; II, 96.3; *PG*, cols. 984B–985A.

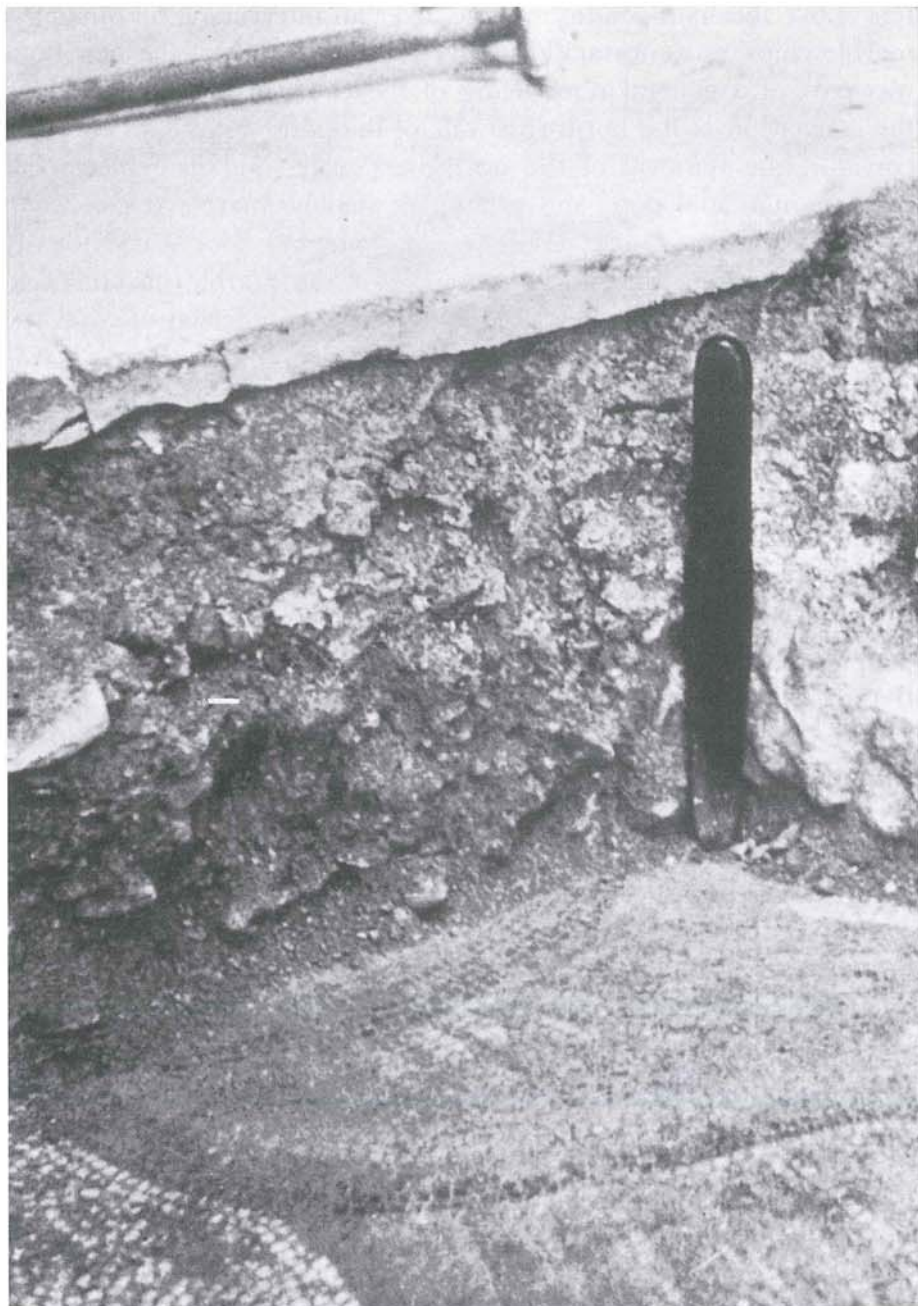


Figure 3. Istanbul, Great Palace, peristyle mosaic covered by floor of Proconnesian marble. After G. Brett et al., *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors* (Oxford, 1947), pl. 5.1.

pavements were considered an important part of the embellishment of the interiors. Among the buildings erected by the emperor Theophilos, between 829 and 842, we read of the lower level of the Sigma, with its ambulatory paved with speckled marble (*piperaton*);<sup>9</sup> of the hall named Margarites, with its floor paved with Proconnesian marble and *opus sectile* (*synkope*);<sup>10</sup> of the bed-chamber attached to the Margarites, with its floor reveted "in the same fashion;"<sup>11</sup> of the chamber called the Kamilas, with its floor of Proconnesian marble;<sup>12</sup> of the chamber adjoining the Kamilas, also paved with Proconnesian marble;<sup>13</sup> and of yet another chamber near the Kamilas, which also had a Proconnesian floor, described as "white."<sup>14</sup> In the same area of the palace, Theophanes Continuatus also describes a dining room, whose entire floor was covered with *opus sectile* of different colors,<sup>15</sup> and a building that was called Mousikos "on account of the precise joining of its marbles." We are told that the pavement of the Mousikos "consists of various beautiful stones forming different shapes." In this structure the walls rivaled the floor, for they were reveted with slabs of Roman, Carian, and pink Peganusian marble, as well as "strips of green Thessalian marble."<sup>16</sup> However, in two chambers which Theophilos built adjoining the hall called Lausiakos, the floors outshone the walls, for while the pavements were made of Proconnesian marble, the walls were merely covered with paint.<sup>17</sup>

In addition to this extensive catalogue, Theophanes Continuatus also mentions the chapel of St. Anne, which the emperor Leo VI built near the Mousikos and paved with white Proconnesian marble.<sup>18</sup>

Presumably many of these floors—especially those described simply as being of Proconnesian marble—were composed of plain slabs of stone, like the later floor that covered the peristyle mosaic. As for the floors described as being of *opus sectile*, that is, *synkope*, the text does not describe them in sufficient detail to allow a reconstruction

<sup>9</sup> Theophanes Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 140.18–19.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 143.22–3.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 144.4–5.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.3–4.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.14–15.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.21–2.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.11–12.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.2–9.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.19–20.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 146.18–19.



of their designs. However, in the case of two floors in buildings erected by Basil I, the *Vita Basilii* gives enough information to enable us to imagine more precisely what they may have looked like.

In order to reconstruct these two floors of Basil I from the text, we must first consider the evidence of Byzantine *opus sectile* floors that have survived. The surviving pavements give us, so to speak, a range of possibilities from which to interpret the written descriptions.

The Byzantine *opus sectile* floors that are preserved from the Middle Ages present three basic categories of design, into which we might expect the ninth-century floors of the Great Palace to fit.<sup>19</sup> First, and most numerous, are the designs that are organized around a central disk, or circle, which is framed by one or more of the following elements. The central circle may be enclosed by a simple square, as in the case of the Palaiologan floor in the south church of the monastery of Constantine Lips, the Fenari İsa Camii in Istanbul.<sup>20</sup> Or, the central circle may be framed by four circles in the shape of a quincunx, as can be seen in the outer narthex of the mid-eleventh-century church of the Nea Moni on Chios (Fig. 4).<sup>21</sup> Alternatively, the four framing circles can be arranged in the shape of a cross, as in the south aisle of Hagia Sophia at Iznik.<sup>22</sup> Sometimes this pattern, with large circles forming a cross, can be seen in combination with the quincunx, as at the church of St. Nicholas at Olynthos, where the pavement is probably eleventh century.<sup>23</sup> Another possibility is for the central circle to be surrounded by a true ring of circles; this type of pattern is usually combined with the quincunx, so that four more circles fill the corners of the square. A splendid floor

<sup>19</sup> For general treatments of Byzantine *opus sectile* floors, see especially U. Peschlow, "Zum byzantinischen opus sectile-Boden," in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasien. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, eds. R. M. Boehmer and H. Hauptmann (Mainz, 1983), 435–47; A. Guiglia Guidobaldi, "L'opus sectile pavimentale in area bizantina," *Atti del I Colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico* (Ravenna, 1993), 643–63.

<sup>20</sup> Th. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari İsa Camii) at Istanbul," *DOP* 18 (1964), 249–315, esp. 267, figs. 52–3.

<sup>21</sup> D. F. Glass, *Studies on Cosmatesque Pavements*, BAR International Series 82 (1980), 27, pl. 64. Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios. History and Architecture* (Athens, 1982), 67–9, figs. 44, 71–2. See also the Byzantine pavements "B", "C" and "D" surviving in the mausoleum of Orhan Gazi at Bursa: S. Eyice, "Two Mosaic Pavements from Bithynia," *DOP* 17 (1963), 373–83, esp. 374–8, figs. IV, V, and 11–15.

<sup>22</sup> Eyice, "Two Mosaic Pavements," 374, fig. I.

<sup>23</sup> Glass, *Studies*, 26–7, pl. 57. See also a pavement at the Iviron monastery on Mount Athos (*ibid.*, 27, fig. 58), and fragment "A" from the mausoleum of Orhan Gazi; Eyice, "Two Mosaic Pavements," 376, fig. III.

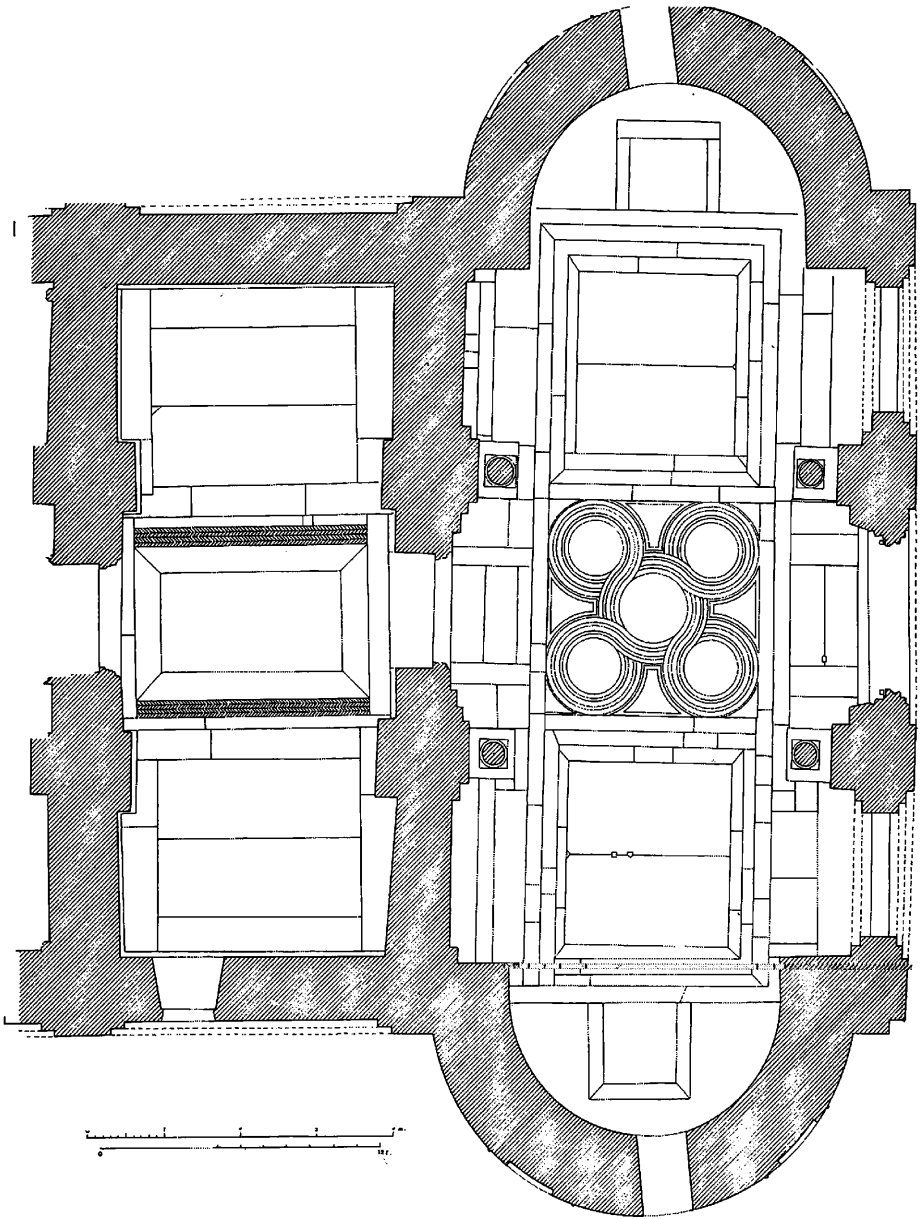


Figure 4. Chios, Nea Moni, pavement in outer narthex. After Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios. History and Architecture* (Athens, 1982), fig. 71b.

of this type was discovered near the church of St. John the Baptist in Hebdomon. It may be the work of Basil I, who restored the complex thoroughly.<sup>24</sup> A similar composition, but with interlacing bands connecting the disks, occupied the west end of the nave of Hagia Sophia at Iznik.<sup>25</sup>

A second basic type of design found in the medieval Byzantine pavements features large rectangular slabs of marble. These slabs are framed by one or more narrower borders composed of marble strips or of fine *opus sectile* work, using small pieces of colored stone. A composition of this type can be seen in the nave of the tenth-century church of the Theotokos at Hosios Loukas (Fig. 5).<sup>26</sup> Finally, there are some later Byzantine compositions that combine the two types of design, presenting more complex patterns in which disks and rectangular plaques play more or less equal roles, as exemplified by the twelfth-century pavement in the south church of the Zeyrek Camii, the Pantokrator monastery, in Istanbul.<sup>27</sup>

With these possible categories of design in mind, we may turn to the *Vita Basilii* and its descriptions of the pavements created by Basil I in the Great Palace. The most detailed description is given to the floor of the bed-chamber which the emperor constructed at the Kainourgion. The text reads as follows:

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<sup>24</sup> Th. K. Macridy, "To byzantinon Hebdomon kai ai par' autō monai," *Thrakika* 10 (1938), 180–91, esp. 188, fig. 14; Peschlow, "Opus sectile-Boden," 442, pl. 93.3. On Basil's restoration, see Janin, *Églises*, 413; Theoph. Cont., ed. Bekker, 340. Other examples include: Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, transept (Glass, *Studies*, 27, pl. 63) and Monte Cassino (*ibid.*, 25–6, pl. 55). A more elaborate version of this pattern, with two rings of circles, is found at the Hagia Sophia in Trebizond: D. Talbot Rice, *The Church of Hagia Sophia at Trebizond* (Edinburgh, 1968), 83–7, fig. 54.

<sup>25</sup> Eyice, "Two Mosaic Pavements," 373–4, figs. 2–10.

<sup>26</sup> R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris, in Phocis* (London, 1901), pl. 33; Peschlow, "Opus sectile-Boden," 444, pl. 93.2. It is probable that the same kind of floor was laid in the church built by Stylianos Zaoutzes between 886 and ca. 893, which was described in an *ekphrasis* by Leo VI. According to Leo's description, the areas of white in the pavement of this church were framed by multiple bands which were alternately composed of polychrome tesserae and of strips of purple marble, just as can be seen at Hosios Loukas: Homilia 34, ed. Akakios, *Leontos tou Sophou panēgurikoi logoi* (Athens, 1868), 278; trans. in Mango, *Art of the Byz. Emp.*, 205, n. 120.

<sup>27</sup> See the paper by Robert Ousterhout in this volume and A. H. S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP* 17 (1963), 333–71, esp. 335–40, figs. A–C, 2–6. See also the pavements in the church of St. John of the Stoudios monastery (Glass, *Studies*, 26–7, pl. 56), and in the church of the Dormition at Iznik (*ibid.*, 27, fig. 59).

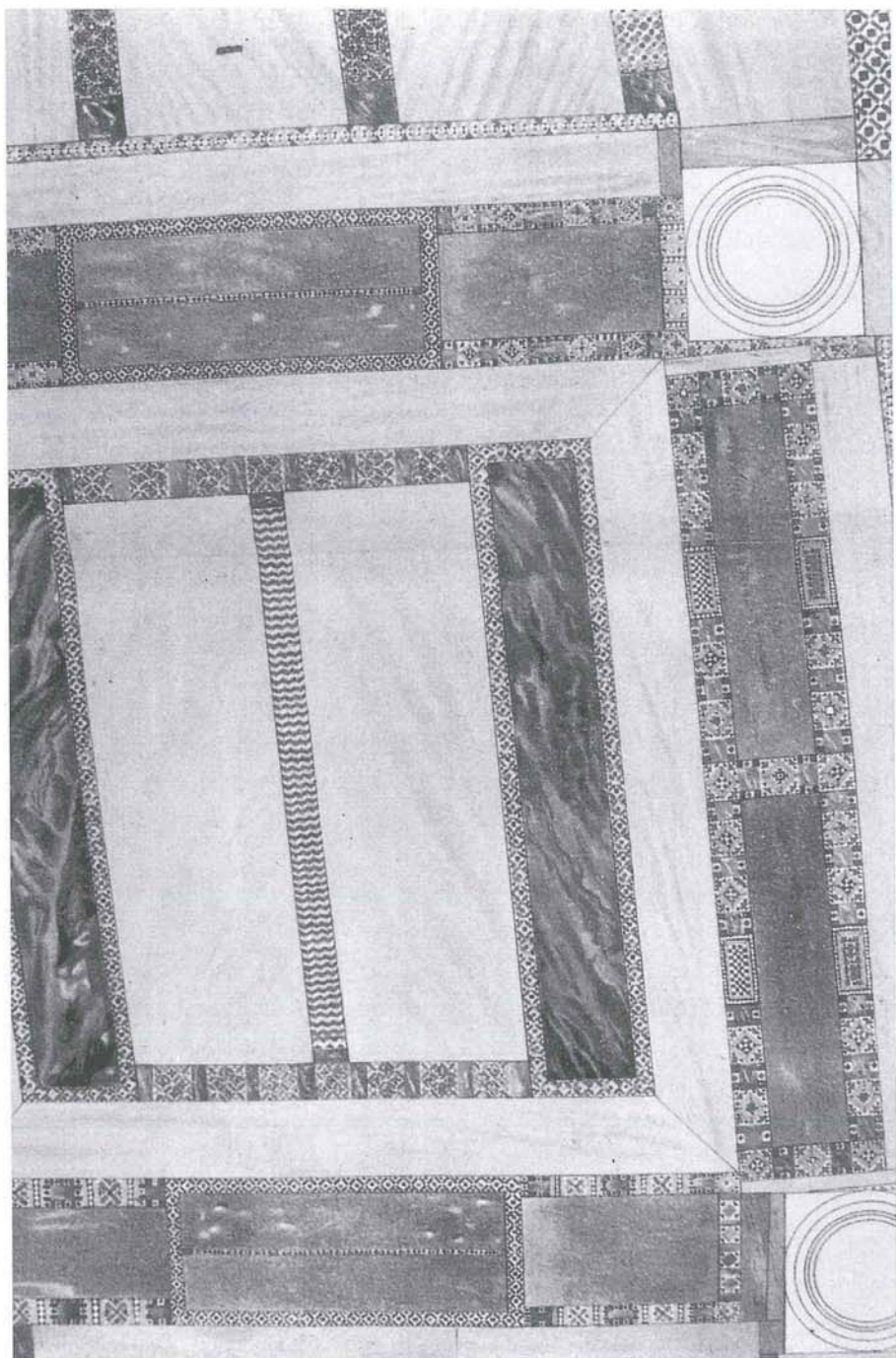


Figure 5. Hosios Loukas, church of the Theotokos, pavement. After R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris in Phocis* (London, 1901), pl. 33.

In the very center of its pavement, by means of the stonemason's art, is represented the Persian bird, i.e. the peacock, all of gleaming tesserae, enclosed in an even circle of Carian stone, from which spokes of the same stone radiate towards a bigger circle. Outside the latter there extend into the four corners of the building streams, as it were, or rivers of Thessalian stone (which is green by nature) encompassing within their banks four eagles made of fine, variegated tesserae, so accurately delineated that they seem to be alive and anxious to fly.<sup>28</sup>

It is evident from this description that this pavement was of the type designed around a central circle. In this case the circle had a border of Carian marble, which is dark red with white streaks. Enclosed in the circle was a peacock executed in mosaic tesserae (*ek psēphidōn*). This kind of combination of cut marble work with images executed in tessellated mosaic was relatively rare in medieval Byzantine pavements, but there are a few surviving examples. For example, a thirteenth-century pavement in the church of the Blachernai monastery at Arta has a quincunx pattern composed of bands of white marble which frame areas of mosaic (Fig. 6).<sup>29</sup> In the central circle at Arta, mosaic tesserae depicted a bird—an eagle—while there were stylized plants also executed in mosaic between the four circles in the angles.

The text of the *Vita Basilii* specifies that the central circle of Carian marble which enclosed the tessellated peacock was ringed by spokes, or rays (*aktines*) of the same marble, which radiated outwards towards a second, larger circle. We can imagine this design with the help of two surviving eleventh-century floors. First, there is the mid-eleventh-century *opus sectile* pavement that was found in the north transept of the Anastasis church in Jerusalem, in the present chapel of St. Mary Magdalene. In this floor, which presumably belonged to the restoration campaign carried out by Constantine IX Monomachos, a central ring of white marble is surrounded by radiating rays which connect it to an outer circle of the same stone.<sup>30</sup> A related design was incorporated into the pavement of the new church at Monte Cassino,

<sup>28</sup> *Vita Basilii* 89, ed. Bekker, 333.1–10; translation by Mango, *Art of the Byz. Emp.*, 197.

<sup>29</sup> A. K. Orlandos, "Ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀρταν Μονῆ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν," *Archeion τῶν Βυζαντινῶν Μνημεῖων τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 2 (1936), 1–56, esp. 30, fig. 25; H. Kier, *Der mittelalterliche Schmuckfußboden* (Düsseldorf, 1970), 27, fig. 320. The central roundel of an *opus sectile* floor in the Lower City Church excavated at Amorium was also filled with mosaic tesserae: C. S. Lightfoot et al., "Amorium Excavations 1993. The Sixth Preliminary Report," *Anatolian Studies* 44 (1994), 105–28, esp. 109.

<sup>30</sup> V. C. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme*, II (Jerusalem, 1981), pl. 9.

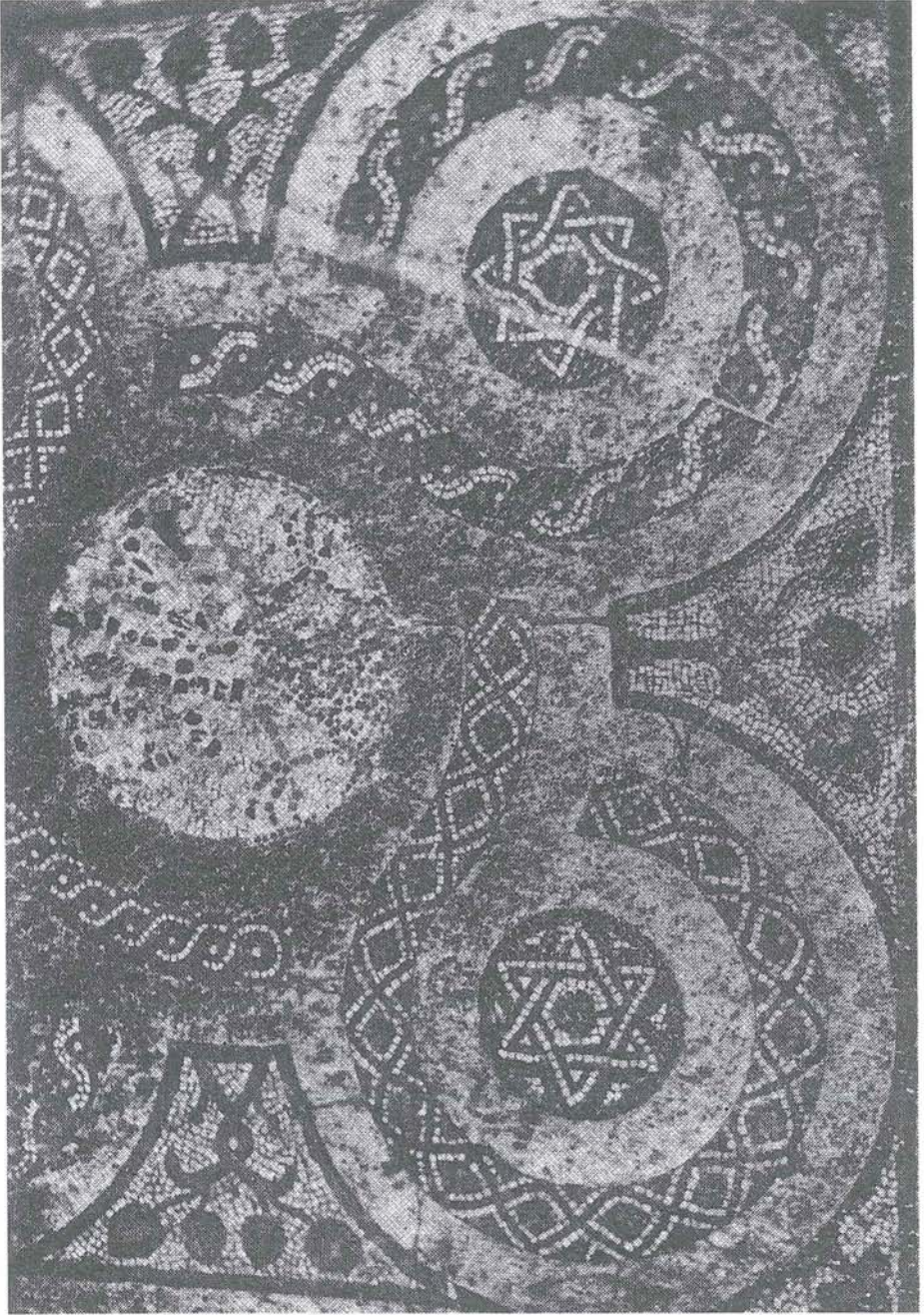


Figure 6. Arta, Blachernai monastery, pavement in the nave. After A. K. Orlandos, "È para tèn Artan Monē tōn Blachernōn," *Archeion tōn Byzantinōn Mnēmειōn tēs Hellados* 2 (1936), fig. 25.

which was dedicated by abbot Desiderius in 1071—its design is preserved by an engraving of 1733. As is well known, the chronicler Leo of Ostia tells us that the abbot imported marble mosaic workers from Constantinople to work on this floor, and this particular design of rays in a circle certainly gives credence to his statement.<sup>31</sup>

To this extent, the floor of Basil's chamber at the Kainourgion is easy to reconstruct. The principal question concerns the last part of the description, that is, the four rivers of green Thessalian stone that extended outside the second circle into the four corners of the building (*kata to tou oikou tetragonon schema*), while enclosing within their banks four eagles executed in mosaic tesserae. What did these four rivers look like? The term "rivers" was sometimes used by Byzantine writers to describe straight bands of colored marble—most notably in the case of the floor of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.<sup>32</sup> But, in this case, it is likely that the word refers to marble bands which formed *circles* in the four corners of the pavement. In the first place, the great majority of the surviving Byzantine floors that are composed around central circles also have circles in the four angles. Secondly, on at least one other medieval pavement the four circles in the corners appear to have been read as "rivers". This was the case in the restored floor of around 1125 in the Cathedral of Novara (Fig. 7).<sup>33</sup> The Novara floor is primarily composed of black and white marble tesserae, but they are closely set to simulate the appearance of intarsia work—that is, continuous slabs and bands of stone. The pavement at Novara depicts, in its central circle, the Fall of Adam and Eve. This circle is enclosed in turn by strips of black making a poised square, to the sides of which are attached four circles enclosing images of the four rivers of Paradise. The black bands which make up this composition are identified as rivers by the water birds that appear in the spandrels. In the case of Basil's chamber at the Kainourgion, the four circular "rivers" of marble in the angles of the composition would have enclosed eagles rather than personifications of the rivers of Paradise.

<sup>31</sup> Kier, *Schmuckfußboden*, 29–30, fig. 339; Glass, *Studies*, 25–6, pl. 55.

<sup>32</sup> *Narratio de S. Sophia*, 26, ed. Preger, *Scriptores*, I, 102–3. See also G. P. Majeska, "Notes on the Archeology of St. Sophia at Constantinople: The Green Marble Bands on the Floor," *DOP* 32 (1978), 299–308, esp. 299.

<sup>33</sup> A. K. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, III (New Haven, 1917), 108–115; Kier, *Schmuckfußboden*, 43, fig. 373.



Figure 7. Novara, Cathedral, floor mosaic in choir. After M. Perotti, *Il Duomo di Novara* (Novara, 1995), 87.



The *Vita Basilii* tells us of another pavement that was constructed by Basil I in the Great Palace: this was the floor of his famous New Church, or Nea. It is described as follows: "As for the pavement, it appears to be covered with silken stuffs of Sidonian workmanship: to such an extent has it been adorned all over with marble slabs of different colors enclosed by tessellated bands of varied aspect, all accurately joined together and abounding in elegance."<sup>34</sup>

The terminology that is used here, that is plaques of marble (*mar-marōn plakōn*) as opposed to circles, suggests that the author is not describing a design based on disks, like the floor of the Kainourgion and its relatives, but rather one based on large rectangular plaques of marble, similar to the pavement of the Theotokos church at Hosios Loukas (Fig. 5). This interpretation is also suggested by the comparison of the floor of the Nea to spread out silks, a simile which is more appropriate for the smooth appearance of broad slabs of polished marble than for the uneven surface of a composition based on circles, which would have been cut from smaller pieces of stone. As at Hosios Loukas, the big marble plaques of the Nea were enclosed by "tessellated bands" (*psēphidon zōnais*) of different kinds.

These *opus sectile* floors of the Great Palace have long since disappeared, but some echoes of their designs may still be found in the church of Saint Mark in Venice. As is well known, both the architecture and the decoration of San Marco were intended to emulate earlier buildings in Constantinople. San Marco has a magnificent pavement, which was probably originally created in the second quarter of the twelfth century, but is now very much restored.<sup>35</sup> Since the church was, in effect, a palace chapel, adjoining the residence of the Doges, it is not surprising that there are many elements in the *opus sectile* floor which recall the descriptions of the Great Palace in Constantinople. These motifs with parallels in Byzantium appear alongside others of western derivation.

As in the bedroom of the Kainourgion, we find at San Marco framing designs composed of cut marble combined with tessellated inserts depicting animals, among which peacocks and eagles are prominent.<sup>36</sup> We also find the pattern of concentric circles of mar-

<sup>34</sup> *Vita Basilii* 84, ed. Bekker, 326.14–19; translation by Mango, *Art of the Byz. Emp.*, 194.

<sup>35</sup> X. Barral I Altet, *Les mosaïques de pavement médiévales de Venise, Murano, Torcello* (Paris, 1985), 45–78, figs. 72–148.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 68–9, figs. 99, 102.

ble joined by spokes.<sup>37</sup> In addition, there are several areas of the floor of San Marco that recall the description of the pavement of the Nea, featuring large plaques of marble framed by bands incorporating small pieces of *opus sectile*.<sup>38</sup>

Similar elements are found in the much better preserved *opus sectile* pavement of the church of Santa Maria and Santo Donato at Murano, a work which is closely related to that at San Marco. The Murano mosaic is dated by an inscription to 1141.<sup>39</sup> Here again we discover the spoked wheels of marble, which appear in three separate locations, in the center of the nave, and at the western and eastern ends of the north aisle. The last of these wheels is joined to four circles in the angles of the composition, as in the design of Basil's mosaic at the Kainourgion (Fig. 8).<sup>40</sup> As in San Marco, mosaic inserts depicting peacocks and eagles are prominent. Two pairs of peacocks are placed on the central axis of the nave, at its western end,<sup>41</sup> and there are six surviving mosaic images of eagles inserted into different parts of the *opus sectile* pavement.<sup>42</sup> Finally, the design of the pavement at Murano features a number of big rectangular slabs cut from different colors of marble and framed by borders of finely cut *opus sectile*; these plaques appear in three prominent bands across the eastern, western, and middle sections of the nave.<sup>43</sup> Despite some western elements, in this well-preserved Venetian floor of the twelfth century, as in San Marco, there may be echoes of the splendid floors created in the ninth-century buildings of the Great Palace in Constantinople. Given the close artistic connections between Venice and Byzantium at this period, such a derivation seems not unlikely.

I conclude with a question that takes us beyond the confines of the palace. We have seen that in the Great Palace, as elsewhere in the Byzantine world, there was a fundamental change in the treatment of pavements after the seventh century. In the early Byzantine period *opus sectile* pavements were less numerous than tessellated floors, which were often highly figured. But then the figured compositions executed in mosaic tesserae died out. In the Middle Ages we find

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid., fig. 129.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., fig. 74.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 24–44, figs. 19–67.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., figs. 24, 34, 39, 51.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., fig. 27.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., figs. 35, 55, 63.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., fig. 24.

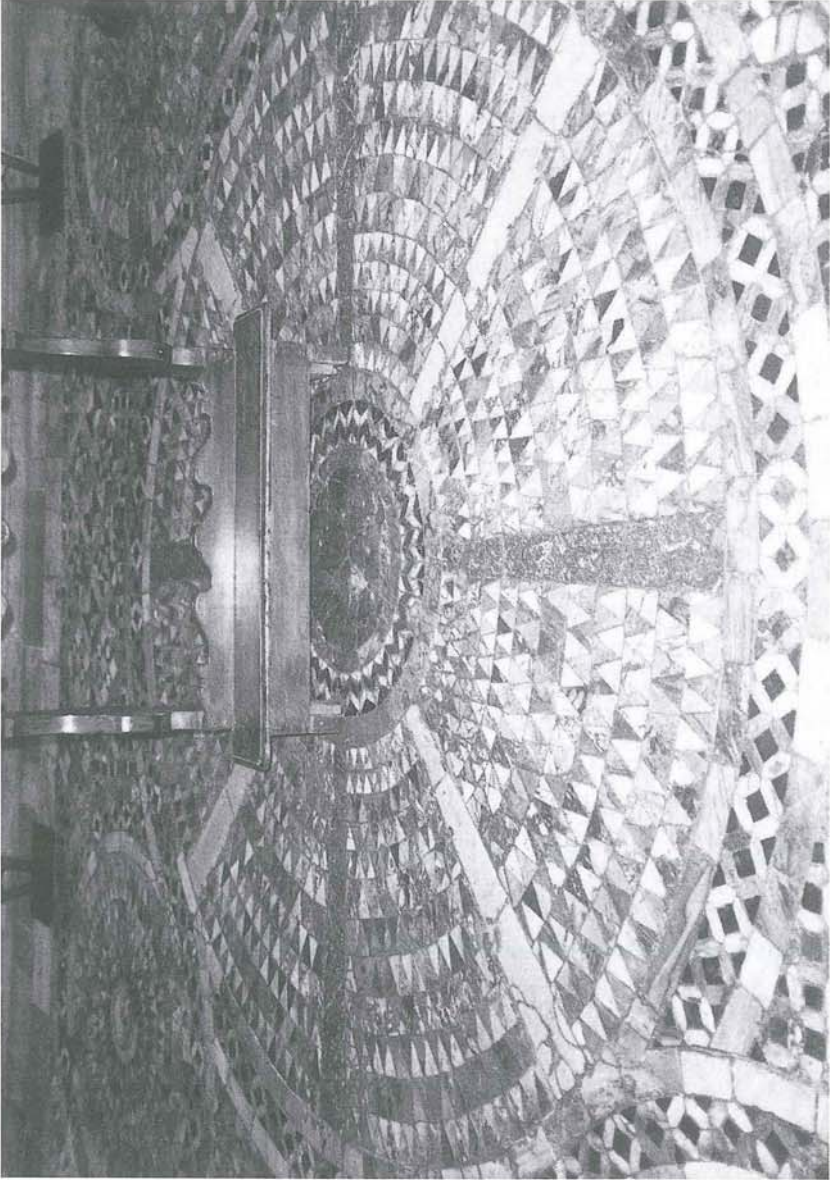


Figure 8. Murano, church of Santa Maria and Santo Donato, pavement at east end of north aisle. Source: author.

either floors made of plain marble slabs, as in the peristyle court, or *opus sectile* floors which were essentially geometric in their design, although they might incorporate isolated images in mosaic, as in the case of the room at the Kainourgion. The *opus sectile* floors were fundamentally different from the tessellated. In tessellated floors, such as the mosaic from the peristyle (Figs. 1 and 2), the stones were of a more or less uniform size, so that the medium was transparent—that is, the purpose of the floor was to display imagined scenes and figures. In *opus sectile*, the materials themselves were put on display—their richness and coloration became the main content of the floor (Figs. 4, 5, and 8). The purpose of the designs in marble was to highlight the value and interest of the materials, rather than the other way around.

Why did this change of preference from one type of floor to another occur? It cannot have been a question of availability of materials, because there was plenty of colored stone to create the floors in *opus sectile*, and these stones could equally well have been manufactured into tesserae. Nor was it a lack of artists with the necessary skills, because we have seen that some of the *opus sectile* mosaics did incorporate areas of mosaic. The change from fully tessellated floors to *opus sectile* seems to have been a matter not of necessity, but of choice. The replacement of tessellated by *opus sectile* floors in churches may have responded to ecclesiastical concerns about the suitability of profane motifs derived from nature for the floors of sacred buildings,<sup>44</sup> but such concerns presumably were less relevant to the decoration of the palace. Here an aesthetic motivation must be sought. Such a motivation, more aesthetic than ideological, is hinted at by an *ekphrasis* in a homily by Photios, which describes the church of the Virgin of Pharos, which was located near the Chrysotriklinos in the Great Palace. The church of the Pharos, although it is first recorded in 769, appears to have been thoroughly restored by Michael III, probably in 864.<sup>45</sup> Photios' *ekphrasis* describes the sumptuous appearance of this building's interior in considerable detail: its gilded capitals and cornices, its golden chains, its silver-covered

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<sup>44</sup> On the ambivalent attitudes toward nature imagery in churches, see H. Maguire, "The Nile and the Rivers of Paradise," in *The Madaba Map Centenary, 1897–1997*, eds. M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata (Jerusalem, 1999), 179–84.

<sup>45</sup> R. J. H. Jenkins and C. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photios," *DOP* 9–10 (1955–56), 123–40, esp. 125, 134–5.

ciborium and chancel-screen, its many-colored marble revetments, and the golden mosaics on its walls and vaults which depicted Christ, the Virgin, and an accompanying host of angels, apostles, martyrs, patriarchs, and prophets. Photios also describes the floor, which was evidently minutely worked:

The pavement, which has been fashioned into the forms of animals and other shapes by means of variegated tesserae, exhibits the marvelous skill of the craftsman, so that the famous Pheidias and Parrhasius and Praxiteles and Zeuxis are proved in truth to have been mere children in their art and makers of figments. Democritus would have said, I think, on seeing the minute work of the pavement and taking it as a piece of evidence, that his atoms were close to being discovered here actually impinging on the sight.<sup>46</sup>

We do not know whether this pavement dated to the time of Michael III's restoration of the church, or whether it was incorporated from an earlier building. Evidently the floor included mosaics of small tesserae depicting a variety of creatures, although it is not clear from the text whether the entire floor was tessellated, or whether the mosaics of animals were inserted into an *opus sectile* pavement, as in the case of the bedchamber of the Kainourgion. At all events, the effect was richly detailed, and possibly too much so, for immediately after Photios' description of the floor we encounter a note of criticism:

In one respect only do I consider the architect of the church to have erred, namely that having gathered into one and the same spot all kinds of beauty, he does not allow the spectator to enjoy the sight in its purity, since the latter [the spectator] is carried and pulled away from one thing by another, and is unable to satiate himself with the spectacle as much as he may desire.<sup>47</sup>

Since it is rare to find an outright criticism of a building or a work of art in an *ekphrasis*, Photios' complaint about the overabundance of decoration in the church may be significant. We know from Antony of Novgorod that the church of the Pharos was small.<sup>48</sup> Photios may be expressing a real fear of sensory overload in the small confined spaces of medieval Byzantine churches—spaces in which the rich decorations of walls, vaults, furnishings, and floors would compete

<sup>46</sup> Homilia 10.5; translation by C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), 187.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Jenkins and Mango, "Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily," 135.

with each other at much closer quarters than in the much larger Early Christian basilicas.<sup>49</sup> In the intimate interior of a middle Byzantine church, a highly figured floor provided too much distraction from the sacred images that were displayed above. The problem was not as pronounced in the west, where Romanesque churches were larger and often basilican in form. Here, in the more open spaces of the western churches, there was less danger of competition between the images on the floors and on the upper surfaces of the building. The relative sizes of the churches in the west and the east could help to explain why there was a vigorous eleventh and twelfth-century revival of fully tessellated pavements in the west, especially in Italy, Germany, and France, but not in Byzantium.<sup>50</sup>

Returning to the Great Palace, we can propose that such aesthetic concerns may have governed the design of the new floors laid down in the eighth and the ninth centuries. In those chambers of the palace that received plain white pavements, the decoration of the upper parts, where it is described, appears to have been elaborate. The Kamilas of Theophilos had a floor of white Proconnesian marble, but its lower walls had a revetment of green Thessalian marble, above which were gold mosaics depicting figures picking fruit. The ceiling also was speckled with gold and supported on six columns of green marble.<sup>51</sup> Another chamber built by Theophilos, near the Kamilas, had a Proconnesian pavement, while the mosaics on the walls depicted green trees and other ornaments against a background of solid gold. The ceiling of this room also was studded with gold.<sup>52</sup> The floor of the bedchamber built by Basil I at the Kainourgion was, as we have seen, a geometric design composed of colorful marbles, but it was restricted in the range of its mosaic imagery, for the

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<sup>49</sup> A similar concern may be expressed in an *ekphrasis* by Leo VI, which describes the newly adorned church in the monastery of Kauleas in Constantinople. The walls were richly decorated with golden images, but the floor was relatively plain: "[The larger part of the pavement] is laid in slabs of white marble, whose translucent continuity is uninterrupted by any other color. [Here] the artist has preferred a splendid purity of effect to the flowers of a multicolored composition, such as often appear in works of this kind." *Homilia* 28, ed. Akakios (note 26 above), 245; trans. in Mango, *Art of the Byz. Emp.*, 202.

<sup>50</sup> On the western revival, see Kier, *Schmuckfußboden*; E. Kitzinger, "World Map and Fortune's Wheel: A Medieval Mosaic Floor in Turin," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 117/5 (1973), 343-73, esp. 345-6 (repr. in idem, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* [Bloomington, 1976], 327-56, esp. 328-9).

<sup>51</sup> *Theoph. Cont.*, ed. Bekker, 144.22-145.4.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 145.12-18.

tesselated inserts only depicted five creatures, four eagles and a peacock. Although these birds certainly carried a message of imperial power, the walls and vault of the room displayed a much more significant program of political imagery. Here there were golden mosaics portraying the emperor himself and his family, grouped around a gleaming cross.<sup>53</sup>

In these new chambers of the palace, which may not have been very large, but which were certainly sumptuously decorated, the designers seem to have consciously sought to avoid pavements that detained the eye with too much detail. The purpose of such floors in the medieval period was to look expensive, but not to detract too much from the images that shone above.

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<sup>53</sup> *Vita Basilii* 89, ed. Bekker, 333.1–335.7.

KONSTANTIN IX.—“SOLIMAN,”  
 “EINZELKÄMPFER,” “SIEGESBRINGER”—UND DIE  
 “UNBESIEGBARE” THEOTOKOS

S. Yıldız Ötüken

Die Stiftungen Konstantin IX. in den Jahren seiner Herrschaft (1042–1055) weisen beim ersten Überblick unterschiedliche Merkmale auf. Untersucht man jedoch die zeitlichen Quellen und die Werke näher, so kommt eine Fülle von Gemeinsamkeiten zum Vorschein. Die Aktivität des Kaisers spiegelt seine Persönlichkeit, seinen geistig hoch gebildeten Umkreis und den Einfluß der Kaiserin Zoe und ihrer Schwester Theodora, sowie seiner Geliebten Maria Skleraina. Dieser Beitrag ist ein Versuch einigen Fragen nachzugehen, die bei unserer Arbeit in der Nikolaos Kirche in Myra entstanden sind.

*Konstantin Monomachos, der Neue Soliman*

Die schriftlichen Quellen und die archäologischen Funde belegen das Interesse des Kaisers für die heiligen Pilgerorte. In der bisherigen Forschung werden die Anbauten, sowie die Fresken und Bodenmosaiken der Nikolaos Kirche in Myra meist mit Hilfe einer Inschrift ins 11. Jahrhundert datiert; der Text berichtet, daß ein namentlich nicht genanntes Bauwerk von Konstantin IX. und Zoe erneuert wurde, am 1. September 1042.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Für die Inschrift siehe *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, IV (Berlin, 1877), 329–30, no. 3708; vgl. S. Y. Ötüken, “Demre Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Kazısının Ortaçağ Araştırmalarına Katkıları,” *Ege Üniversitesi Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 9 (1998), 85–102, Abb. 1. In der Forschung werden die Anbauten, Fresken und Bodenmosaiken der Nikolaos Kirche mit Hilfe dieser Inschrift datiert, H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler in Pisidien, Pamphylien und Lykien* (Leipzig, 1908), 340; U. Peschlow, “Die Architektur der Nikolaoskirche in Myra,” in *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit*, ed. J. Borchardt, *Istanbuler Forschungen* 30 (Berlin, 1975), 303–56, bes. 347 Anm. 188; ebd. O. Feld, “Die Innenausstattung der Nikolaoskirche in Myra,” 360–97, bes. 396.



U. Peschlow äußert seine Bedenken zu dieser Inschrift: "Gehörte sie tatsächlich zu der Kirche, wäre es merkwürdig, daß sie weder einen Hinweis auf den Heiligen, etwa in Form einer Anrufung, noch auf den wiederhergestellten Bau gibt."<sup>2</sup> Er betont weiterhin, daß Johannes Orphanotrophos, der Bruder des Kaisers Michael IV. (1034–1041), ebenso als Stifter in Frage kommen kann.

Der Glaube an die heilbringende Wirkung der Reliquien des Hl. Nikolaos führte im 11. Jahrhundert viele Pilger, u.a. auch Johannes Orphanotrophos zu dieser Kirche; in der Madrider Skylitzes-Handschrift ist der Beweggrund seiner Reise nach Myra dargestellt; der Hl. Nikolaos erschien im Traum dem von Epilepsie befallenen Johannes und ruft ihn zur Heilung nach Myra. Skylitzes berichtet das Ergebnis dieser Reise mit folgenden Worten: "nachdem er am Grabe des Nikolaos Heilung gefunden hatte, machte er der Kirche wertvolle Stiftungen und umringte die Stadt mit einer starken Mauer."<sup>3</sup>

Auf den Siegeln des Johannes Orphanotrophos erscheint entweder die Büste oder das Standbild des Hl. Nikolaos; bei der zweiten Variante ist Nikolaos im Halbprofil dargestellt, die Hände fürbittend erhoben zur Hand Gottes, die aus einem Himmelssegment herausragt.<sup>4</sup> Die unterschiedliche Lesung des Indiktionsjahres auf seinen Kupfersiegeln führt zu zwei Datierungen: 1028–1029 bzw. 1028–1035. Die Siegel mit der Darstellung *manus dei* sind global zwischen 1028 und 1042 datiert. Im Bezug auf die Baugeschichte der Nikolaos Kirche in Myra von Bedeutung ist ein neuer Bleisiegelfund, der mit Hilfe des Bildtypus und des Schriftcharakters zu der zweiten Variante eingeordnet werden kann.<sup>5</sup>

Der älteste Münzfund aus der Grabung in Myra ist eine Bronzemünze aus der Regierungszeit von Konstantin IX.; sie kann mit Hilfe

<sup>2</sup> U. Peschlow, "Materialien zur Kirche des H. Nikolaos in Myra im Mittelalter," *IstMitt* 40 (1990), 207–58, bes. 210 Anm. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Skylitzes, *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, CFHB 5 (Berlin-New York, 1973), 397.52–57. Zur Darstellung des Traumes siehe S. C. Estopañan, *Skylitzes Matritensis*, I (Barcelona-Madrid, 1965), Abb. 516.

<sup>4</sup> Zu Siegeln siehe G. Zacos—A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I/3 (Basel, 1972), 1446–8, no. 2677 a–b, no. 2677 bis a–d Taf. 176, no. 2678, no. 2678 bis a–b Taf. 177. Zur Biographie siehe R. Janin, "Un ministre byzantin: Jean l'Orphanotrophe (XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)," *Échos d'Orient* 30 (1931), 431–43.

<sup>5</sup> S. Y. Ötügen, "1997 Yılı Demre Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Kazısı," *XX. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 1998 (Ankara, 1999), II, 481–504, bes. 490, Abb. 15–16. Prof. Dr. W. Seibt danke ich für die Bereitschaft diesen Siegel zu besprechen. Er betont in seiner Besprechung, daß die "Legende nur hypothetisch rekonstruiert werden kann, wobei die erste Zeile (mit dem Namen) besonders unsicher ist."

der Christus Anaplus-Darstellung zwischen 1042 und 1050 datiert werden.<sup>6</sup> Konstantin IX. stiftete zwei Kirchen, die dem Hl. Nikolaos geweiht sind: die erste im Docheiariou Kloster auf dem Berge Athos (nach 1046) und die zweite in Bari (1053); in derselben Periode wurde die Stadt Bari unter dem Schutzpatronat des Heiligen Nikolaos gestellt.<sup>7</sup>

Die Verehrung des Hl. Nikolaos in der Hauptstadt, sowie das Interesse des Kaiserpaares Konstantin und Zoe für diesen Heiligen kann auf die Tradition der makedonischen Dynastie zurückgeführt werden. Der Kult des Heiligen in Konstantinopel erreichte bereits im 9. Jahrhundert seinen Höhepunkt.<sup>8</sup> Die von Basileios I. mit Hilfe der kaiserlichen Flotte errichtete Nea Kirche war u.a. dem Nikolaos geweiht; zwei Jahrhunderte nach ihrer Errichtung wurde hier die kaiserliche Hochzeit von Konstantin und Zoe gefeiert. Denselben Heiligen wurden andere Kirchen und Klöster in der Hauptstadt und in den Provinzen geweiht; die Vatikanische Leo-Handschrift wurde für ein Nikolaos Kloster in Konstantinopel angefertigt. Die frühesten Darstellungen des Heiligen stammen ebenfalls aus der makedonischen Zeit: das Mosaik in der Sophienkirche entstand vor 886; die älteste Nikolaos Ikone wird ins 10. Jahrhundert datiert. Im Bildprogramm der Ostkirche erscheint der Heilige seit dem 10. Jahrhundert in der Reihe der Bischöfe in der Hauptapsis. Konstantin VII. erwähnt im *De thematibus* die wunderwirkende Kraft des Myron Öles. Aus dem Bericht über die *Translatio Nicolai* durch die Venezianer im Jahre 1100 erfahren wir, daß Kaiser Basileios I. bzw. II. nach einem vergeblichen Versuch, den Sarkophag mit den Reliquien des Nikolaos nach Konstantinopel zu bringen diese "so verborgen haben soll, daß sie niemand mehr finden konnte."<sup>9</sup>

Kaiserliche Aktivitäten von Konstantin IX. sind nebst Myra auch in anderen Kultstätten Kleinasiens und Konstantinopels zu belegen.

<sup>6</sup> S. Y. Ötügen, "1995 Yılı Demre Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Kazısı," *XVIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, 1996 (Ankara, 1997), II, 471–88, bes. 480 Abb. 8.

<sup>7</sup> G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos. Der hl. Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche. Texte und Untersuchungen*, II (Berlin, 1917), 473 Anm. 2; K. Meisen, *Nikolauskult und Nikolausbrauch im Abendlande* (Düsseldorf, 1931), 63–6.

<sup>8</sup> Zum Kult des Hl. Nikolaos im 7.–10. Jh. siehe S. Y. Ötügen, "Demre-Myra Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Kazısı Işığında Yeni Değerlendirmeler," *VII. Milli Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Semineri—II. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazı-Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Konya, 1998), 21–50, bes. 23 f. Zu der kaiserlichen Hochzeit siehe Skylitzes, ed. Thurn, 423.45–48.

<sup>9</sup> *Historia del translatione sanctorum magni Nicolai: Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux*, V/1 (Paris, 1895), 261–6.

Der durch die kaiserlichen Stiftungen von Anastasios und Justinianos hoch gepflegte Kultort des Märtyrers Theodoros Teron in Euchaita, erlebte seine zweite Blüte zur Zeit des Metropoliten Johannes Mauropous (1047–1075). In einem Epigramm von Mauropous wird Monomachos unter den Stiftern dieses Heiligtums erwähnt; auf einer Deesis Szene soll er in Proskynese Haltung dargestellt sein.<sup>10</sup> Wohl im Hinblick auf die hohen Einkünfte des Pilgerbetriebs, gewährte Monomachos in 1054 die Aufhebung der Steuereinkünfte von Euchaita.<sup>11</sup>

Das von Basileios II. errichtete bzw. wieder erbaute Kloster des Erzengels Michael in Sosthenion (Istinye in Istanbul), befand sich an der heiligen Stätte, wo der Stylit Daniel ab 460 auf einer Säule gelebt hatte. In einem Epigramm von Mauropous wird berichtet, daß auf einem Mosaikbild in dieser Kirche Monomachos gemeinsam mit anderen Stiftern von Christus bekrönt dargestellt war.<sup>12</sup>

Eine weitere Kultstätte entstand am Orte des Grabes von Hosios Loukas; an dessen Heilwirkungen viele Pilger glaubten. Nach dem Bericht des Cyriacus von Ancona aus dem Jahre 1436 ist Konstantin IX. der Stifter des Katholikons. Diese in der Forschung umstrittene Textstelle wurde zuerst von E. Stikas und in seiner Folge neuerlich von P. M. Mylonas und N. Oikonomides akzeptiert.<sup>13</sup> Mit Hilfe einer Inschrift legte Oikonomides überzeugend dar, daß Monomachos um 1048, zur Zeit des Kloostervorstehers Theodosios, das Katholikon sowie die Mosaiken gestiftet hat.

Die Restaurierungen und die Bauarbeiten an der Golgotha Basilika zu Jerusalem bilden einen Höhepunkt der kaiserlichen Aktivitäten

<sup>10</sup> Zum Theodoros-Kult in Euchaita siehe F. R. Trombley, "The Decline of the Seventh-Century Town: The Exception of Euchaita," *Byzantina kai Metabyzantina* 4 (Malibu, 1985), 65–90, bes. 66 Anm. 10; I. Hutter, "Theodorupolis," in *AETOS. Studies in honour of Cyril Mango*, ed. I. Ševčenko—I. Hutter (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1998), 181–90. Zum Epigramm siehe P. Lagarde, ed., *Ioannis Euchaitorum metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt*, Abhandlungen der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 28 (Göttingen, 1882), 34, no. 57; 38, no. 75; vgl. C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 220; N. Oikonomides, "The Mosaic Panel of Constantine IX and Zoe in Saint Sophia," *REB* 36 (1978), bes. 227.

<sup>11</sup> F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches* (München, 1925), no. 926.

<sup>12</sup> Janin, *Églises*, 348. Zum Epigramm siehe Lagarde, *Ioannis Euchaitorum*, nos. 80, 87; vgl. Mango, *Art of the Byz. Emp.*, 220–1.

<sup>13</sup> E. Stikas, *Le fondateur du catholicon du monastère de Saint Luc en Phocide* (Athen, 1974–75), 22–31; P. M. Mylonas, "Nouvelles remarques sur le complexe de Saint-Luc en Phocide," *CahArch* 40 (1992), 115–22, bes. 120; N. Oikonomides, "The First Century of the Monastery of Hosios Loukas," *DOP* 46 (1992), 245–55, bes. 249–51.

im Bezug zu den heiligen Kultstätten.<sup>14</sup> Bereits in 1027 wurde zwischen Konstantin VIII. und den Fatimiden ein Vertrag für die Restaurierung der in 1009 zerstörten Basilika abgeschlossen; dieser Vertrag wurde in 1036 von Michael IV. erneuert. Die Arbeit konnte jedoch erst zwischen 1046 und 1048, in der Regierungszeit von Konstantin IX., verwirklicht werden.

Die oben kurz dargelegten archäologischen Funde und die schriftlichen Quellen zeugen von dem vielfältigen Interesse Konstantins für die heiligen Kultstätte. Es wurde in der Forschung mehrmals betont, daß das Bild König Solimans auf der Anastasis Szene in der Nea Moni auf Chios die Porträtzüge des Kaisers trägt.<sup>15</sup> Ohne Zweifel ließ diese Identifikation dem Kaiser im Hinblick auf den blühenden Pilgerbetrieb des 11. Jahrhundert große Ehren zukommen.

*Konstantin, der Einzelkämpfer, Siegesbringer und die Unbesiegbare Theotokos*

Konstantin Monomachos heiratete dreimal offiziell; seine dritte Ehefrau, die Kaiserin Zoe, sowie ihre Schwester Theodora übten großen Einfluß auf seinen kaiserlichen Laufbahn. In seinem bewegten Privatleben haben auch andere Frauen eine große Rolle gespielt: u.a. seine zweite Ehefrau, seine umstrittene Tochter, sowie seine Geliebten Skleraina und die Alanen-Prinzessin; allen gemeinsam ist ihr Name Maria.<sup>16</sup>

Ohne Zweifel war er am tiefsten mit der Kusine seiner ersten Gattin, der Maria Skleraina verbunden.<sup>17</sup> Die Beziehung zwischen beiden begann um 1030; Skleraina begleitete ihn zu seinem Exil auf dem Mytilen in 1034; trotz des Ehebündnis mit Zoe holte er sie nach Konstantinopel und verlieh ihr den bis dahin unbekanntem Titel *Sebaste*; somit wurde das gemeinsame Leben beider im Kaiserpalast

<sup>14</sup> R. Ousterhout, "Rebuilding the Temple: Constantine Monomachos and the Holy Sepulchre," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 48 (1989), 66–78, bes. 70.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 78; D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios* (Athen, 1985), 131; H. Maguire, "The Mosaics of Nea Moni: An Imperial Reading," *DOP* 46 (1992), 206–14, bes. 212–3.

<sup>16</sup> Zu den Ehefrauen siehe Michael Psellos, *Chronographie*, ed. E. Renauld, I (Paris, 1926), 124 f.; vgl. W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi* (Wien, 1976), 70–1, no. 15; zu der Tochter siehe A. V. Soloviev, "Marie fille de Constantin IX Monomaque," *Byz* 33 (1963), 241–8, bes. 244; vgl. W. Seibt—M. L. Zarnitz, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk* (Wien, 1997), 36.

<sup>17</sup> Psellos, *Chronographie*, I, 126 f., 141 ff.; vgl. Seibt, *Skleroi*, 71–6, no. 16.

offiziell gerechtfertigt.<sup>18</sup> Sie wurde nach ihrem Tode um 1044/45 in der von ihm gestifteten Georgios Kirche in Mangana beigesetzt; am 10. Januar 1055 verstarb Monomachos und wurde ebenfalls dort begraben.<sup>19</sup>

Die religiösen Stiftungen des Kaisers spiegeln die Verherrlichung der Gottesmutter; das Katholikon des Hosios Loukas (um 1048) und die Kirche des Nea Moni Klosters auf Chios (1042–1048) waren ihr geweiht. Nach D. Mouriki bestimmten drei Faktoren das Mosaikprogramm in der Nea Moni: der Stifter, die Schutzpatronin der Kirche und der Künstler.<sup>20</sup> Die Darstellung der Gottesmutter begegnet uns an zwei wichtigen Stellen der Kirche: in der Kuppel der Hauptapsis erscheint die Blachernitissa und im Zentrum der Narthex-Kuppel erscheint die Panagia im Minimal Orans Gestus, begleitet von acht Heiligen, vier davon sind Märtyrer.<sup>21</sup>

In der byzantinischen Kunst wird Maria selten in Begleitung von Märtyrern dargestellt; diese Kombination begegnet uns auch bei anderen Stiftungen des Monomachos.<sup>22</sup> In der Sinai-Handschrift wird eine von ihm gestiftete, heute verschollene Marien Ikone erwähnt.<sup>23</sup> Dieselbe Handschrift enthält auch ein Epigramm mit dem Titel "Die unbesiegbare Theotokos"; ein Satz dieses Epigramms spiegelt die Kraft der Gottesmutter: "Oh Monomachos, Du sollst mit mir, mit der Unbesiegbaren, mit derjenigen die dich bei deinen Kämpfen begleitet, kämpfen."<sup>24</sup>

Die größte kaiserliche Stiftung von Konstantin IX., die prunkvoll ausgestattete Kirche in Mangana war dem größten Märtyrer der Ostkirche, dem Georgios "Tropaiophoros", dem Siegesbringer geweiht. Konstantin verehrte ihn bereits an den Anfängen seiner Laufbahns als Protospathar und Logothet der kaiserlichen Herden; sein früh-

<sup>18</sup> Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 854.

<sup>19</sup> Seibt, *Skleroi*, 75.

<sup>20</sup> Mouriki, *Mosaics*, 198–214.

<sup>21</sup> Zum Programm im Narthex siehe Mouriki, *Mosaics*, 209–10; Maria in minimal orans Typus ist bei den Siegeln des 11. Jhs. verbreitet: Seibt—Zarnitz, *Bleistegel*, nos. 1.2.4, 2.1.11, 3.1.14, 5.2.9.

<sup>22</sup> Für eine kleine tragbare Ikone mit der Darstellung Maria mit Märtyrern, siehe *The Glory of Byzantium* (New York, 1997), Kat. no. 24.

<sup>23</sup> Zum Epigramm siehe Sp. P. Lampros, *NE* 8 (1911), 7.

<sup>24</sup> Zur Sinai-HS siehe K. Weitzmann, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai* (Minnesota, 1973), 15–6, Abb. 19; vgl. Maguire, "Mosaics of Nea Moni," Abb. 12.

ester Siegel trägt die Darstellung dieses Märtyrers in Kriegertracht mit Speer und Schild.<sup>25</sup>

Die Verehrung des "siegbringenden" Märtyrers, der stets ein "Einzelkämpfer" war, erscheint zunächst für einen "unkriegerischen Höfling" wie Konstantin seltsam; doch wird es im Hinblick auf seinen Familiennamen verständlich; Monomachos bedeutete eigentlich Einzelkämpfer im Zweikampf und war in der Antike ein Beinamen des Gladiatoren.

Die Silbermünzen zeigen den Kaiser Konstantin IX. in Kriegerausrüstung, wie der Heilige Georgios Tropaiophoros; auf der Vorderseite ist Maria im Blachernitissa-Typus dargestellt. Einige dieser Münzen enthält die Fürbitte des Kaisers an die "Unbesiegbare" Maria: "Oh Du hochverehrte Despoina, nimm den berühmten Monomachos unter deinem Schutz."<sup>26</sup>

Für die symbolische Bedeutung der Blachernitissa weist D. Mouriki auf die 10. Homilie des Patriarchen Photios: Maria hält die Arme ausgestreckt, um den "Kaiser zu beschützen und seine Feinde auszuwehren, zu bekämpfen bzw. zu vernichten."<sup>27</sup>

Der Blachernitissa-Typus begegnet uns in vielen Kirchen des 11. Jahrhunderts, u.a. in der Nea Moni auf Chios, in der Panagia Chalkeon in Thessalonike und in der Sophienkirche in Kiev. In dergleichen Periode sind zwei Varianten des Blachernitissa-Typus faßbar; beiden gemeinsam ist das Medallion des Christuskindes vor der Brust der Maria; bei der ersten Variante ist Maria mit ausgestreckten Armen dargestellt, wie auf den Münzen von Zoe und Theodora; bei der zweiten hält Maria mit beiden Händen das Medallion des Christuskindes, wie auf der Apsisdarstellung der Sophienkirche in Ohrid.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Zum Bleisiegel siehe Seibt—Zarnitz, *Bleisiegel*, 54–5, no. 1.2.9.

<sup>26</sup> Zu den Silbermünzen siehe P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, III/2 (Washington, D.C., 1973), 736–7, 745–7 Taf. LIX 7–8, 736 Taf. LXII (Münze mit Inschrift).

<sup>27</sup> Mouriki, *Mosaics*, 107 f.

<sup>28</sup> Zur ersten Variante siehe Grierson, *Catalogue*, Taf. LVIII, no. AV 1 (Münze von Zoe und Theodora); vgl. D. Buckton, ed., *Byzantium* (London, 1994), 149–50, no. 164 (Gewichtsmesser von Theodora). Zur zweiten Variante siehe R. Hamann—Mac Lean—H. Hallensleben, *Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien* (Giessen, 1963), III, Abb. 1 (Ohri); vgl. Grierson, *Catalogue*, Taf. LXVI (Münzen Michael VII.). Zu den Siegeln siehe Zacos—Veglery, *Seals*, 1448 no. 2678 Taf. 176 (1042), 1449 no. 2678 a–b Taf. 177 (11. Jh.); Seibt, *Skleroi*, nos. 19–20 (11. Jh.), Taf. 3.9, 4.11; Seibt—Zarnitz, *Bleisiegel*, 206, no. 5.3.8 (1070–80). Zu den Marien-Typen siehe R. Ousterhout, "The Virgin of the Chora," in *The Sacred Image East and West*, ed. R. Ousterhout—L. Brubaker (Illinois, 1995), 91–109, bes. 94–6.

In der Nikolaos Kirche in Myra befindet sich in der ersten SO-Kapelle ein bisher unpubliziertes Beispiel der zweiten Variante.<sup>29</sup> Wie wir im Eingang erwähnten, können Konstantin und Zoe als Stifter der Malereien in Frage kommen. Die nähere Untersuchung des Bildprogrammes bekräftigt diese Zuschreibung. Trotz des fragmentarischen Zustandes sind drei Marien-Darstellungen in der dritten SO-Kapelle erhalten: an der S-Wand ist das Marienkind mit Anna, an der N-Wand die fürbittende Maria in der Deesis Szene und am Apsisbogen die Verkündigung an Maria dargestellt.

Diese Kapelle öffnet sich nach Westen hin zum Grabraum, die mit vier Festbildern geschmückt ist: das sind die "Geburt Christi", "Koimesis", "Kreuzigung" und "Anastasis". Die Auswahl der Festbilder unterstreicht wieder Marias Bedeutung als Gottesmutter.

*Konstantin, Maria Skleraina, Zoe, Theodora und die Styliten*

Viele schriftliche Quellen aus der Zeit Konstantin IX. spiegeln die kaiserliche Unterstützung der Klöster bzw. Eremitengründungen; besonders auffallend für diese Zeit ist der wachsende Stylitenkult an der Westküste Kleinasiens. Bereits in dem ersten Regierungsjahr sendet Monomachos dem Styliten Lazaros auf dem Berge Galesios (Alamandağ bei Manisa) ein Schreiben begleitet von Geschenken.<sup>30</sup> Aus dem *Vita* des Lazaros geht hervor, daß Personen aus dem engsten Umkreis des Kaisers das Galesios Kloster besucht haben; u.a. *Protospatharios* Leo Basilitzes, der Bruder von Maria Skleraina—Romanos Skleros, ein Mitglied der Makrembolites—vermutlich ein Verwandter von Eudokia, die Gattin des Konstantin Doukas.<sup>31</sup> Maria Skleraina selbst, die über ihren Bruder Romanos von den Heiligen erfahren hatte, ließ ihm die beachtliche Summe von 10 Litrai (720 Nomisma) Gold zukommen, womit Lazaros eine Kirche der Theotokos Pausolype errichtete.<sup>32</sup> Nach dem Tode der Skleraina wurde in einem kaiser-

<sup>29</sup> Zu den Fresken siehe N. Çorağan, "Antalya'nın Demre İlçesindeki H. Nikolaos Kilisesi Freskoları" (unpubl. Diss., Ankara, 1998).

<sup>30</sup> Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 855.

<sup>31</sup> *Vita S. Lazari Galesiotae*, AASS, Nov. III, cols. 508–88, bes. 531, 536, 554, 539.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, cols. 582, 584. Zur Kirche vgl. R. Janin, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), 241–50; Seibt, *Skleroi*, 75; N. Oikonomides, "St. George of Mangana, Maria Skleraina, and the 'Malyj Sion' of Novgorod," *DOP* 34/35 (1980–81), 239–46, bes. 242 Anm. 39.

lichen Erlaß der Wunsch geäußert, daß Lazaros mit seinen Brüdern zu diesem Kloster übersiedelt; denn Galesios sei dem Metropolit von Ephesos unterstellt, Bessai dagegen dem Lazaros, damit er zum Gedächtnis von Monomachos und Skleraina Gebete aufrichtet.<sup>33</sup>

In den Regesten von 1045 ist ein weiteres Kloster im westlichen Kleinasien erwähnt, das sog. Styloskloster, welches im 10. Jahrhundert von dem Styliten Paulos gegründet war.<sup>34</sup> Die Regesten belegen die kaiserliche Unterstützung des Großen Lavra Klosters auf dem Berge Athos, das wohl als einer der wichtigsten Zentren der Mönche, Eremiten bzw. Styliten galt.<sup>35</sup>

Die kaiserlichen Privilegien spiegeln die engen Verbindungen zwischen der Hauptstadt und der Provinz: den Mönchen des Nea Moni Klosters stand ein Haus im Mangana Viertel zur Verfügung; eine Windmühle in Bessai und die Weingärten in Thebes nahe bei Hosios Loukas sind unter den Besitztümern des hauptstädtischen Georgios Klosters aufgeführt.<sup>36</sup>

Die Darstellungen von Styliten tauchen in den hauptstädtischen Handschriften der nachikonoklastischen Zeit auf; einer der frühesten Beispiele ist die Darstellung im Chludow-Psalter, das nach 863 datiert wird. Die Eremitenhöhlen und Kapellen in Kappadokien, u.a. die Kapelle des Styliten Niketas in Güllüdere und die Kapelle des Styliten Simeon in Zelve beherbergen die ersten Monumentaldarstellungen; die Auswahl beschränkt sich zunächst auf den berühmten Vorvater der Styliten Simeon dem Älteren.<sup>37</sup> Am Anfang des 11. Jahrhunderts wird das Bild-Repertoire mit den Darstellungen weiterer Styliten, wie Daniel, Loukas und Alypios bereichert.<sup>38</sup> Das von Basileios II. in 1004 gestiftete Menologium cod. gr. 1613, bestimmte den Platz vieler

<sup>33</sup> Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 920.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 866, 867.

<sup>35</sup> *Actes de Lavra*, I, ed. A. Guillou et al. (Paris, 1970), 189–92, no. 31; vgl. "Lavra, Great," *ODB* II, 1190–1.

<sup>36</sup> Dölger, *Regesten*, no. 887; Janin, *Églises*, 372. I.-P. Zepos, *Jus graecoromanum*, I (Athen, 1931), 637; Oikonomides, "St. George of Mangana," 241–2.

<sup>37</sup> Zum Stylitenkult siehe H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites* (Paris, 1923). Zu den Darstellungen in Kappadokien siehe G. Schiemenz, *JÖB* 18 (1969), 248, Abb. 6 (Ortahisar); G. de Jerphanion, *Une nouvelle province de l'art byzantin: Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1925–42), I/2, 552–80 (Zelve); I/1, 201 (Kılıçlar). Zu den frühesten Darstellungen in Griechenland siehe S. Pelakanidis—M. Chatzidakis, *Kastoria* (Athen, 1985), 15 (H. Stephanos).

<sup>38</sup> Jerphanion, *Nouvelle province*, II, 275, 295, 304 (Soğanlı Belli I und III); I, 155, 321, 326 (Göreme Eustathios, Tokalı II).



Styliten im liturgischen Kalender der Ostkirche.<sup>39</sup> Die Bildprogramme der kaiserlichen Stiftungen von Konstantin, Zoe und Theodora erfassen immer die Stylitendarstellungen.<sup>40</sup>

Für das Verständnis eines Styliten-Bildes im Grabraum der Nikolaos Kirche in Myra stellten wir uns zunächst die Frage, in wie weit der Stylitenkult in Lykien verbreitet war; in der Forschung bleibt diese Frage offen. Eine bisher unberücksichtigte Quelle belegt, daß bereits in 724 in "Milite" bei Myra ein Stylit auf einer Säule gelebt hat; das *Vita* des Styliten Lazaros von Galesios (vor 1053) berichtet über einen siebenjährigen Aufenthalt des Styliten in einem Kloster bei Attaleia (Antalya).<sup>41</sup>

Im Lichte dieser Quellen erscheint die Darstellung eines Styliten im Bildprogramm einer lykischen Kirche nicht befremdend. Die Inschrift auf der Darstellung in Myra kann heute nicht entziffert werden; jedoch war es möglich mit Hilfe des Bildprogramms und anhand der ikonographischen Merkmale diese Figur mit dem Styliten Alypios zu identifizieren.

Alypios lebte im 7. Jahrhundert im Gebiet Paphlagonien, in der Stadt Adrianoupolis und verstarb am 26. November ebendort.<sup>42</sup> Seine Darstellungen begegnen uns hauptsächlich in den hauptstädtischen Menologien des 11. Jahrhunderts; u.a. in den Handschriften von Vatikan gr. 1613, s. 208 (1014) und gr. 1156, fol. 269 (1. H. 11. Jhs.), sowie in Athos Docheiariou gr. 5, fol. 166r (E. 11. Jhs.), Kopenhagen gr. 167, fol. 166r (11. Jh.), als auch in der von Theodora gestifteten Handschrift in Paris gr. 580, fol. 2v (1056).<sup>43</sup>

<sup>39</sup> *Il Menologio di Basilio II, cod. Vat. gr. 1613* (Torino, 1907), 2 (Simeon), 208 (Alypios), 237 (Daniel), 238 (Loukas).

<sup>40</sup> Mouriki, *Mosaics*, 78–9, 171–6, Taf. 86b, 88b, 238 (Nea Moni); Feld, "Nikolaoskirche" (wie oben Anm. 1), 389, Taf. 125B (Myra).

<sup>41</sup> Dr. F. Hild danke ich für die Mitteilung und Übersetzung dieser Quelle (*Vita Willibald v. Eichstätt*, 93). Zu Lazaros von Galesios siehe *Vita S. Lazari*, col. 511.

<sup>42</sup> Zum Leben des Heiligen siehe Delehaye, *Saints stylites*, LXXXXII–LXXXV, 148–69, bes. 148, 153, 156–8, 161, 198. Zu seinem Geburtsort "Adrianoupolis" siehe K. Belke, *Paphlagonien und Honoras*, Tabula Imperii Byzantini 9 (Wien, 1996), 155 f. Zur Ikonographie siehe K. G. Kaster "Alypius," in *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, I (Rom-Freiburg-Basel-Wien, 1968), 105–6.

<sup>43</sup> Zu dem im Text erwähnten Menologien vgl. Kaster, "Alypius"; unbeachtet ist cod. gr. 167, siehe E. Piltz, "Byzantine Illuminations in the Bibliothek in Copenhagen," in *Byzantium and Islam in Scandinavia*, ed. E. Piltz (Jonsered, 1998), 129–35, bes. 129–32, Abb. 17; Athos Docheiariou gr. 5, siehe *The Treasures of Athos*, III (Athen, 1990), 289–91, Abb. 228a. Vgl. außerdem Londoner Psalter cod. gr. 19352 (1066).

Betrachtet man die Beispiele in der byzantinischen Monumentalmalerei, so fällt es auf, daß die Alypios Darstellungen hauptsächlich im 11. Jahrhundert auftreten; u.a. auch in den kaiserlichen Stiftungen von Nea Moni, Hosios Loukas und Hl. Nikolaos.<sup>44</sup>

Dies scheint kein Zufall zu sein, denn der Name Alypios ist für Zoe und Theodora von großer Bedeutung: der Schwiegervater Konstantin VIII., das ist der Großvater mütterlicher Seite von Zoe und Theodora, trug den Namen Alypios. Psellos erwähnt diese historische Figur mit folgenden Worten: "er (Alypios) zählte zu den würdigen Bürgern der Stadt und stammte von einer hoch beachteten, edlen Familie ab."<sup>45</sup>

Unsere Forschungen nach Kirchen und Klöstern, die diesem Heiligen geweiht waren, führte zu einem überraschenden Ergebnis; das *Synaxarium Constantinopolitanae* erwähnt ein Kloster des Styliten Alypios in Konstantinopel, das sich in einem wichtigen Stadtgebiet nordöstlich des Hippodroms befand.<sup>46</sup> Die Lokalisierung gibt den Hinweis, daß wir mit einer bedeutenden Stiftung zu tun haben; es wäre eine dankbare Aufgabe, die Baugeschichte dieses Klosters mit dem einzigartigen Patrozinium zu erforschen.

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<sup>44</sup> Zu den Darstellungen in der Monumentalmalerei siehe Jerphanion, *Nouvelle province*, II/2, 500, Göreme Kılıçlar (n. 900/11. Jh.), Tokah II (10./13. Jh.), Soğanlı Belli III (A.10. Jh./1060–61); siehe N. Thierry, "Un atelier cappadocien du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle à Macan-Göreme," *CahArch* 44 (1996), 117–40, bes. 123, Abb. 9 (Macan Sarnıçlı, A.11. Jh.); vgl. außerdem, Korfu Makarios (1074/75), Zypern-Kakopetria H. Nikolaos tis Stegis (12. Jh.).

<sup>45</sup> Zum Großvater von Zoe und Theodora siehe Psellos, *Chronographie*, I, 26.

<sup>46</sup> Zum Alypios Kloster und zu der benachbarten Kirche des Hl. Onouphrios siehe *Syn. CP*, 257, I.46–47; vgl. Janin, *Églises*, 29, 384. Zur Lokalisation dieser Bauwerke siehe A. Berger—J. Bardill, "The Representations of Constantinople in Hartmann Schedel's *World Chronicle*, and Related Pictures," *BMGS* 22 (1998), 2–37, bes. 18, Abb. 8–9. Dr. A. Berger danke ich für den Hinweis auf diesen Artikel.



ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE IN CONSTANTINOPLE  
AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE CAPITAL IN ANATOLIA

Sema Alpaslan

The art of the Byzantine Empire evolved between the Early Christian age and the Late Byzantine age, acquiring distinctive characteristics, especially in the capital. In the early period, the motifs and compositions of antique art were prevalent. However, from the sixth century onwards, the Byzantine Empire began to develop its own style. The relation between the works of art that were produced by the workshops of the palace in Constantinople and those that were produced in Anatolia was always a close one, both in terms of architectural structure and planning, and in terms of architectural decorations as well as other stone works not related to architecture. The written sources which give information about stone works in the Byzantine Empire are limited. Sozomen, who lived in the second half of the fifth century, mentions in his *Historia ecclesiastica* that in A.D. 414 the sister of Theodosius II offered an altar to "the church of Constantinople," probably St. Sophia.<sup>1</sup> In the *Vita* of Symeon Stylites the Younger, it is reported that the designs on the capitals of the church built by the saint near Antioch were carved by one of the monks among his disciples.<sup>2</sup> According to the *Vita* of St. Nicholas of Sion, who lived in Lycia, on the other hand, the masters employed in the workshops of the palace in Constantinople occasionally worked in traveling workshops, too.<sup>3</sup> We know that in Anatolia, besides the traveling workshops, there were local workshops where architectural and artistic activities were undertaken, so that it is possible to speak

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<sup>1</sup> Sozomenus *Kirchengeschichte*, eds. J. Bidez and G. C. Hansen (Berlin, 1960), IX.1.4, p. 414; English translation by C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), 51.

<sup>2</sup> *La Vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, ed. P. van den Ven, I (Brussels, 1962), §108; English translation by Mango, *Art of the Byz. Emp.*, 143.

<sup>3</sup> *The Life of St. Nicholas of Sion*, ed. and tr. I. Ševčenko and N. P. Ševčenko (Brookline, Mass., 1984), 69.

of the existence of some regional styles within the Byzantine Empire. Nonetheless, the similarities between the architectural structures produced in Constantinople and contemporary ones produced in Anatolia were always strong and significant. This paper will present some findings about these similarities, by comparing the motifs, compositions, styles and techniques of architectural sculpture in Constantinople and in Anatolia, which illustrate the extent of the influence of the capital on provincial art.

In the Justinianic period, the rich sculptural decorations of Constantinopolitan monuments were produced in marble variations and ornaments in the *à jour* technique. This technique, which began to be used in the fifth century (e.g. in Beyazıt Basilica A), reached perfection during the sixth century in the churches of St. Sophia and Sts. Sergios and Bakchos.<sup>4</sup> The vegetal compositions with expressive scrolling branches and acanthus leaves on the capitals, friezes and architraves of these buildings appear as if they arise from nowhere; they were all delicately carved like crochet-work on marble.

The influence of the stone workmanship of Constantinople in the Justinianic age can be clearly observed in Anatolia, where during the same period similar techniques and motifs were used, albeit with the addition of certain local characteristics. Most importantly, in Anatolia, the expressive marble workmanship of the Byzantine capital was generally applied on limestone, which was the local material. The ciborium arches in the Antalya Archaeological Museum and the Burdur Museum (Fig. 1), the liturgical elements of the church of St. Nicholas in Myra (Demre) found during the excavations led by Prof. Yıldız Ötüken,<sup>5</sup> the capital in Alakilise (Fig. 2), and the pier capital in the Karabel church (Fig. 3) are illustrative examples from the

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<sup>4</sup> Photographs of stone works from Constantinopolitan monuments referred to in the text are not reproduced here, as they have already been published elsewhere. See T. F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople: Architecture and Liturgy* (University Park, Penn., 1971), 11–8, 42–51, 67–76, 88–104, fig. 54; idem, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul: A Photographic Survey* (University Park, Penn., 1976), 28–33, 242–59, 262–312, pls. 5.3–4, 31.50–52, 31.69–70; A. Van Millingen, *Byzantine Churches in Constantinople. Their History and Architecture* (London, 1912), 62–83, pl. XII; H. Kähler and C. Mango, *Hagia Sophia* (New York, 1967), figs. 70–7; T. Zolt, *Kapitellplastik Konstantinopels vom 4. bis 6. Jhr. n. Chr. mit einem Beitrag zur Untersuchung des Ionischer Kämpferkapitells*, Asia Minor Studien 14 (Bonn, 1994), cat. no. 207, pls. 34.207, 29.14, 16, 29.25–30.

<sup>5</sup> S. Y. Ötüken, “Demre Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Kazısının Ortaçağ Araştırmalarına Katkıları (S. Alpaslan, Mermer-Taş Buluntular),” *Ege Üniversitesi Sanat Tarihi Yıllığı* 9 (1998), 93, fig. 6. For the ciborium arch in the Antalya Museum, see *Antalya*

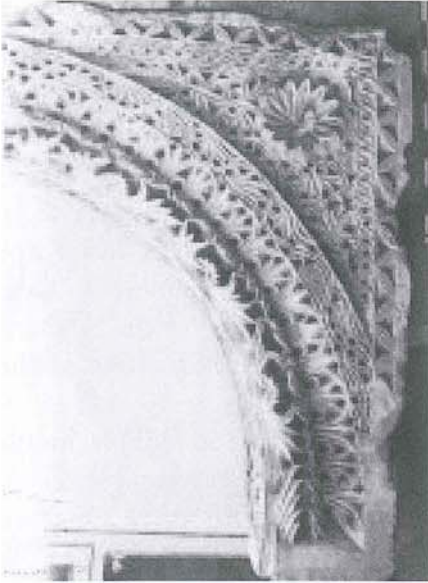


Figure 1. Burdur Museum, ciborium arch.

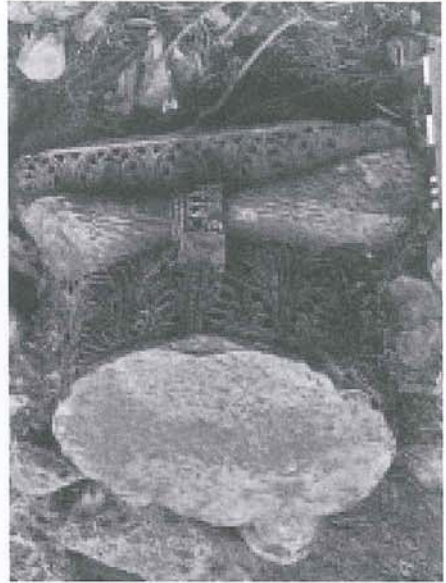


Figure 2. Alakilise, capital.



Figure 3. Karabel church, pier capital.

upper parts of the Lycian region, all dating from the sixth century.<sup>6</sup>

The motifs and compositions on the stone elements of fifth- and sixth-century Byzantine monuments reveal the continuing impact of antique art in the Empire after the Early Christian age. Among the best applications in Constantinople are the sixth-century column drum from St. Sophia, which is exhibited in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, and the basket capital excavated during the construction of the third bridge over the Golden Horn.<sup>7</sup> The realistic style of antique art is evident in the scrolling tendrils, vine leaves and grape bunches carved into these stone works. Similar compositions in local styles exist in Anatolia, as can be seen on the cornice of the Alahan-West Basilica in Cilicia or on the screen found on excavation at the church of St. Nicholas in Myra (Fig. 4).<sup>8</sup>

Other examples attesting to the continued taste for antique motifs in Constantinople during the fifth and sixth centuries include the Theodosian period frieze motifs in the propylaeum of St. Sophia, and the egg-and-dart motifs on the architrave in the narthex of the Stoudios basilica, which are ornamented with vegetal patterns.<sup>9</sup> Outside the capital, similar motifs can be seen in the vegetal decorations of the Alahan-East Basilica, demonstrating once again that the same taste was also popular in Anatolia at this time.<sup>10</sup>

One of the commonly used compositions of the Justinianic age in Constantinople is the "rhombus". Its variations are attested in symbolic motifs like plants, geometrical figures and crosses that embellish the liturgical furnishings of churches, such as templa, ambos, soleas or ciboria. They are also found on gallery screens, which have a totally different function. For example, the screen in the gallery

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*Museum*, eds. İ. and E. Özgen (Ankara, 1988), 219, no. 157, fig. 133. The dimensions of the ciborium arch in the Burdur Museum are h: 65, w: 89, th: 16.5 cm (inv. no. 414.84[94].74; limestone).

<sup>6</sup> S. Alpaslan, "Antalya İli ve Likya Bölgesinde Bizans Dönemine Ait Plastik Taş Eserler," *XXI. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 1999* (Ankara, in print). The dimensions of the capital in Alakilise are h: 43.5, w: 68, diam: 49 cm.

<sup>7</sup> N. Firath and C. Metzger, *La sculpture byzantine figurée au Musée Archéologique d'Istanbul* (Paris, 1990), 102-3, 121, pls. 61.190, 73.228; A. Pasinli, *Istanbul Archaeological Museums* (Istanbul, 1989), 74-5, cat. no. 82; A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IV<sup>e</sup>-X<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris, 1963), pls. XX.1-4.

<sup>8</sup> M. Gough, ed., *Alahan. An Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey* (Toronto, 1985); S. Y. Ötüken, "1995 Yılı Demre Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Kazısı (S. Alpaslan, Taş-Mermer Buluntular)," *XVIII. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 1996* (Ankara, 1997), 475.

<sup>9</sup> Mathews, *Early Churches*, figs. 2, 4; idem, *Byzantine Churches*, figs. 31.2-5.

<sup>10</sup> Gough, *Alahan*, pl. 14, fig. 32.

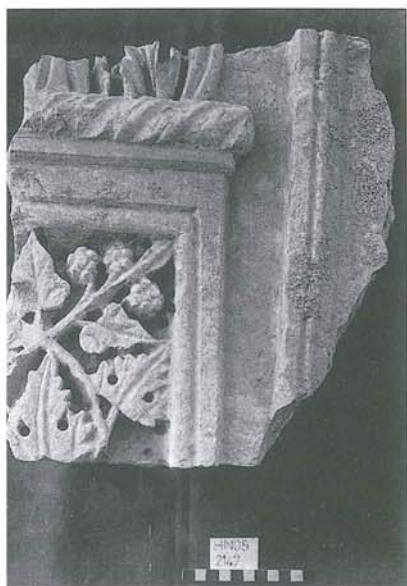


Figure 4. Myra (Demre), church of St. Nicholas, screen fragment.



Figure 5. Myra, church of St. Nicholas, openwork screen fragments.



Figure 6. Aperlae, openwork screen fragments.



of St. Sophia in Istanbul, as well as the gallery screens in the Iznik Archaeological Museum and the church of St. Nicholas in Myra all exhibit compositions with the cross motif.<sup>11</sup>

The cross motif was used throughout the Byzantine period as a symbol on the stone elements of monumental buildings. In Constantinople, the upper hand of the cross carved on a column in the Pammakaristos cistern bears the shape of a scrolling leaf.<sup>12</sup> A similar cross motif can also be seen on the same architectural element with the same function in sixth-century Alakilise, in Lycia.<sup>13</sup>

Window frames perforated with squares, grilled or profiled, constitute a characteristic feature of Byzantine architecture during the fifth and sixth centuries. These window frames of Roman origin were popular both in the capital and in Anatolia.<sup>14</sup> The frames of the Lips monastery and of St. Polyuktos, now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, are typical examples of this style from Constantinople, while similar window frames have been found at the church of St. Nicholas in Myra.<sup>15</sup>

The stone liturgical furnishings of Byzantine churches such as open-work screens and templa were frequently decorated with geometrical and vegetal patterns or fish-scale motifs during the same period. Variations of vegetal and fish-scale motifs can be seen on the screens at the Topkapı Palace basilica, among the Kalenderhane findings, and in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.<sup>16</sup> Sixth-century examples

<sup>11</sup> Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, figs. 31.83–88; Kähler-Mango, *Hagia Sophia*, figs. 47–49, 56; Y. Ötüken, *Forschungen im nordwestlichen Kleinasien* (Tübingen, 1995), 98, 102–3, pls. 14–16, fig. 18; O. Feld, “Die Innenausstattung der Nikolaoskirche in Myra,” in *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit*, ed. J. Borchardt (Berlin, 1975), 372–3, pls. 120.D–F; U. Peschlow, “Materialien zur Kirche des H. Nikolaos in Myra im Mittelalter,” *IstMitt* 40 (1990), 216, pl. 41.1; S. Alpaslan, “Antalya’nın Demre (Kale) İlçesindeki H. Nikolaos Kilisesinde Dini Ayınle İlgili Plastik Eserler” (unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Hacettepe University, Ankara, 1996).

<sup>12</sup> Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 138–63.

<sup>13</sup> I have been working on Byzantine architectural sculpture of the Lycian region since 1998. The dimensions of the column in Alakilise are h: 230, diam: 46(top), 41(bottom) cm.

<sup>14</sup> For Roman window frames, see W. Anderson and R. Spiers, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece and Rome* (London, 1950), fig. 86, pls. XLIII, LXX; A. Mc Kay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* (Southampton, 1975), 91, figs. 28, 31.

<sup>15</sup> Th. Macridy, “The Monastery of Lips (Fenari İsa Camii) at Istanbul,” *DOP* 18 (1964), 266–7, fig. 58; Harrison, *Saraghane*, I, 140–2, fig. J; S. Y. Ötüken, “1996 Yılı Demre Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Kazısı (S. Alpaslan, Taş-Mermer Buluntular),” *XIX. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 1997* (Ankara, 1998), 547–8, fig. 9.

<sup>16</sup> Mathews, *Byzantine Churches*, 383–5, fig. 39.3; H. Tezcan, *Topkapı Sarayı ve Çevresinin Bizans Devri Arkeolojisi* (Istanbul, 1989), 65–6, figs. 66–7; U. Peschlow,

are attested in Anatolia as well, e.g. in the Alahan monastery, the church of St. Nicholas in Myra (Fig. 5), the upper church in Aperlae (Fig. 6), at Melanippe on the Mediterranean coast of Lycia, the castle of Antalya, the St. Pantaleon church in Cilicia, and the Symeon Stylites church in Antioch, some fragments of openwork screens belonging to which are now in the Hatay Museum (Figs. 7 and 8).<sup>17</sup>

Capitals, which are among the most important elements of Byzantine monumental architecture, can be categorized and studied according to their types and ornamentation. A sixth-century capital decorated with cornucopiae is exhibited in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. A similar one with the same motifs is found in the Eskişehir Museum, thus bearing testimony to the close relation between Anatolia and the imperial capital.<sup>18</sup>

The use of animal figures on capitals started in the Byzantine Empire in the fifth century. Two significant examples, one from Constantinople and one from Anatolia, illustrate once again the influence of the capital city. These are, respectively, the fifth-century capital with a Pegasus figure which was brought to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum from the Hippodrome, and the sixth-century two-zone capital in the Antalya Archaeological Museum which has bird figures in the upper zone and ribbon plaits worked à jour in the lower zone.<sup>19</sup> A second set of parallel examples consists of the capital with an eagle figure in the garden of St. Sophia in Istanbul and the capital bearing the same animal figure in the Bursa Archaeological Museum, although it should be pointed out that the two capitals show different stylistic characteristics.<sup>20</sup>

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“Architectural Sculpture,” in *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, their History, Architecture, and Decoration*, eds. C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban (Mainz, 1997), 107, pls. 113–5. For other examples, see A. K. Orlandos, *Hē xylostegos palaiochristianikē basilikē*, II (Athens, 1952), 499, 515–7, figs. 476–8, 487.

<sup>17</sup> Gough, *Alahan*, pl. 29; Ötügen, “1995 Yılı Demre” (note 8 above), 476, fig. 5; S. Alpaslan, “Antalya,” in print; L. Budde, *St. Pantaleon von Aphrodisias in Kilikien* (Recklinghausen, 1987), fig. 46; R. Stillwell, *Catalogue of Sculpture* (Princeton, 1941), 134, cat. no. 521, pl. 27. The dimensions of the screens in the Hatay Museum are h: 9.3, w: 11.4, th: 3.4 cm (inv. no. 457; marble); h: 30.5–9–9.5, w: 37.5–8.5–5.5, th: 4.7–3.3–3.3 cm (inv. nos. 380, 382, 383; marble); the screen fragments in Aperlae h: 9.8, w: 9, th: 7; h: 10.2, w: 18.5, th: 8.2; h: 9.5, w: 11, th: 9.5; h: 10, w: 6.5, th: 6; h: 10, w: 8.5, th: 7; h: 13, w: 13.5, th: 7.5 cm (limestone).

<sup>18</sup> For the capital in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, see Firath-Metzger, *Sculpture byzantine*, inv. no. 942, cat. no. 226.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, inv. no. 2404, cat. no. 194; M. Dennert, *Mittelbyzantinische Kapitelle. Studien zu Typologie und Chronologie*, Asia Minor Studien 25 (Bonn, 1997), pl. 49.

<sup>20</sup> Grabar, *Sculptures*, pl. XIX.2; for an example in the Istanbul Archaeological

Among sixth-century Byzantine capitals, a prominent type is the impost capital and its variants. In St. Sophia, there is an Ionic impost capital with vegetal patterns worked à jour. Another impost capital produced with a similar technique and decorated with the same motifs can be seen in the Fatih Camii at Tirilye, on the southern shore of the Marmara Sea, not too far away from Constantinople. The best examples of impost capitals of the Justinianic period with à jour plaiting motifs are preserved in the St. Sophia Museum. A parallel example from Anatolia is the basket capital at Kuşadası Park, in Ionia.<sup>21</sup>

A variation of the composite capital, the so-called “windblown acanthus” type, on the other hand, can be seen in an early example dated to the late fifth/early sixth century at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Same type capitals from Anatolia, though displaying a different style and technique, are found in Alakilise (Fig. 9), at Arneae (Fig. 10), and in the Antalya Archaeological Museum.<sup>22</sup>

In Byzantine art, animal figures remained throughout the centuries a very popular theme not only on capitals, but on other stone works as well. The sixth-century screen with a rabbit figure in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum is an example of this popularity.<sup>23</sup> It is possible to recognize in the workmanship of this screen the trend for detail and realistic style typical of its age. The tenth-century screen found in Gebze, which is also in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, shows the fight between a deer and a lion. It reflects, in turn, the stylistic and compositional characteristics of the Middle Byzantine period. The same stylization of figures appears on the marble screens exhibited in the Antalya Archaeological Museum (Figs. 11 and 12).<sup>24</sup>

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Museum, see Zolt, *Kapitellplastik*, pl. 46.640; for other examples in Anatolia, see Dennert, *Mittelbyzantinische Kapitelle*, pls. 55–61.

<sup>21</sup> For the capitals in the St. Sophia Museum, Afyon Museum, Kuşadası Park and Tirilye-Fatih Camii, see Dennert, *Mittelbyzantinische Kapitelle*, 254–5, pls. 56.315–316, 26.147, 30.170; Zolt, *Kapitellplastik*, pls. 9.27–28, 10.29, 27.119.

<sup>22</sup> For the capital in the Antalya Archaeological Museum, see U. Peschlow, “Tradition und Innovation: Kapitellskulptur in Lykien,” in *Spätantike und byzantinische Bauskulptur*, eds. U. Peschlow and S. Möllers (Stuttgart, 1998), 75, pl. 23.29. The dimensions of the capitals of Alakilise and Arneae are h: 63, w: 80.5–83, diam:– and h: 42, w: 52–35, diam: 24 cm, respectively.

<sup>23</sup> Firath-Metzger, *Sculpture byzantine*, 168–9, inv. no. 921, pl. 102.337.

<sup>24</sup> For the examples in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, see *ibid.*, 163, pls. 98.322, 99.323. The dimensions of the screens in the Antalya Museum are h: 89, w: 46.5, th: 7.5–7 cm (inv. no. A.3256); h: 91, w: 70, th: 11–8.5 cm (inv. no. A.73).

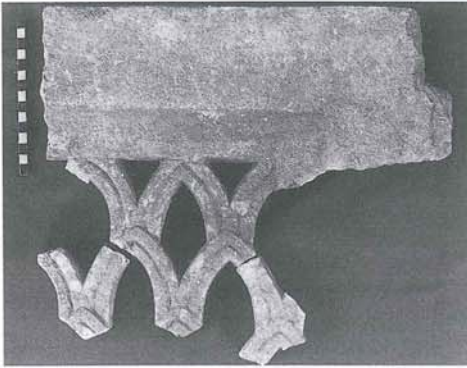


Figure 7. Hatay Museum, openwork screen fragments.

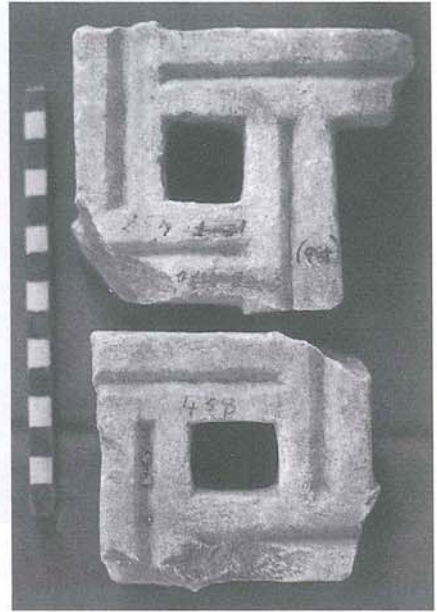


Figure 8. Hatay Museum, openwork screen fragments.

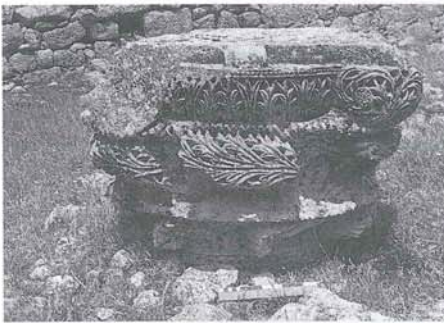


Figure 9. Alakilise, capital.



Figure 10. Arneae, capital.



Figure 11. Antalya Archaeological Museum, screen.



Figure 12. Antalya Archaeological Museum, screen.

Another architectural ornament which originated in Constantinople is the palmette and half-palmettes among scrolling branches. In the Middle Byzantine period, starting in the ninth century, concave, elaborately worked leaves emerged as a popular stylistic characteristic of sculptural decoration. The moldings in the church of St. Mary Pammakaristos and in the north and south churches of the Lips monastery are typical examples of this trend.<sup>25</sup> It has been claimed that the palmette composition on the fifth-century sarcophagus at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum, which was brought there from Beyazıt, is a later addition of the eleventh or twelfth century.<sup>26</sup> The stylistic characteristics of this composition support this opinion. The broken screen at the Dereağzı church in Kaş (central Lycia) shows the same motif worked in the same style.<sup>27</sup> In Lycia, it is possible to observe further examples of similar compositions from the same period featuring the same style. Thus the templon capital and concave molding in the church of St. Nicholas at Myra, and the molding in the castle of Antalya (Fig. 13) demonstrate that the influence of Constantinople was always strong in Anatolia.<sup>28</sup>

The last composition to be considered here is the plaiting of interwoven ribbons, i.e. variations of motifs of squares and circles knotted together, which was used in every period both in Constantinople and in Anatolia. In the Iznik Museum, there is a screen with plaited geometrical and vegetal patterns, which closely resembles a twelfth-century screen in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.<sup>29</sup> Another twelfth-century screen in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum displays a composition of circles, rhombus and vegetal motifs made of ribbons knotted to one another. Similar compositions, in a different style, appear on the screen in the Antalya Archaeological Museum

<sup>25</sup> For St. Mary Pammakaristos, see C. Mango and E. J. W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus 1962-63," *DOP* 18 (1964), 332; for the Lips monastery, see Macridy, "Monastery of Lips," fig. 51.

<sup>26</sup> A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge, II (XI<sup>e</sup>-XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris, 1976), pl. CXV.a; Firatlı-Metzger, *Sculpture byzantine*, 47, inv. no. 5798, pl. 31.83.

<sup>27</sup> J. Morganstern, *The Byzantine Church at Dereağzı and its Decoration* (Tübingen, 1983), 140-4, pls. 36-7.

<sup>28</sup> S. Y. Ötügen, "Demre-Myra Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Kazısı Işığında Yeni Değerlendirmeler (S. Alpaslan, Mermer-Taş Buluntular)," *VII. Milli Selçuklu Kültür ve Medeniyeti Semineri—II. Ortaçağ ve Türk Dönemi Kazı-Araştırmaları Sempozyumu Bildirileri* (Konya, 1998), 28, fig. 5. The dimensions of the molding in the castle of Antalya are l: 59, d: 28.5-21, h: 15 cm (limestone).

<sup>29</sup> Ötügen, *Forschungen*, 94, 96, 98, pls. 13.1, 3, 4; Firatlı-Metzger, *Sculpture byzantine*, pls. 93.302, 102.334, 336.

(Fig. 14), the templon pier in the Kütahya Museum (Fig. 15), and the screen in the castle of Antalya (Fig. 16). The fourteenth-century screen with a cross motif made up of ribbon plaits in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum has a close parallel in the church of St. Nicholas in Myra.<sup>30</sup> The various examples mentioned above confirm the fact that the original compositions of the Middle Byzantine period in the capital of the Empire were reiterated in Anatolia.

However, there also exist particular motifs and compositions which were popular in Anatolia, but unattested in Constantinople. One of these is a flower motif with four pointed leaves made of intersected circles. This motif, which emerged in the third century, became extremely popular in the sixth century and onwards. The earliest examples found in Antakya have been dated to the second half of the third century, and they were common on the floor mosaics of houses, baths and baptisteries.<sup>31</sup> Another application of this motif can be seen on *opus sectile* floors, the best example of which from the Middle Byzantine period has been preserved in the church of St. Nicholas at Myra.<sup>32</sup> The same church also features openwork stone screens with the same motif, fragments of which have been unearthed during excavations (Fig. 17).<sup>33</sup> The appearance of the identical motif on metal objects in openwork technique, such as the sixth-century standing lamp which belongs to the Sion Treasure found in the village of Kumluca in Lycia, attests to the extent of its popularity in Anatolia.<sup>34</sup> Other stone works bearing this motif include the capital in the Antalya Archaeological Museum, which dates from the second half of the sixth century, and the pier in relief technique located in the Finike Cumhuriyet Park, on the Lycian coast (Fig. 18).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> For the example in the St. Nicholas church in Myra, see S. Alpaslan, "Demre Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi'ndeki Trapez kesitli Levhalar, Levha üstü ve Levha Kaideleri," *Adalya* 2 (1998), 236-7, figs. 1-2. The dimensions of the screen in the Antalya Museum are h: 91, w: 79, th: 11 cm (without inv. no.; marble); the templon pier in the Kütahya Museum h: 78, w: 22-23, column diam: 21 cm. (inv. no. 36; marble); the screen in the castle of Antalya h: 46, w: 47.5, th:- cm (marble).

<sup>31</sup> S. Campbell, *The Mosaics of Antioch* (Toronto-Ontario, 1988), 99-100.

<sup>32</sup> Feld, "Nikolaoskirche" (note 11 above), 394-7.

<sup>33</sup> S. Y. Ötüken, "1997 Yılı Demre-Myra Aziz Nikolaos Kilisesi Kazısı (S. Alpaslan, Mermer-Taş Buluntular)," *XX. Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı, 1998* (Ankara, 1999), 486, fig. 7.

<sup>34</sup> S. Boyd, "A Bishop's Gift: Openwork Lamps from the Sion Treasure," in *Argentariae romanae et byzantinae. Actes de la Table Ronde*, ed. F. Baratte (Paris, 1988), 191-202, pls. III.3, V.1-3, VI.1, V.4, VI.2-3.

<sup>35</sup> Peschlow, "Tradition," pl. 23.29; Alpaslan, "Antalya," in print. The dimensions of the pier in Finike Park are h: 171, w: 56-38 (top and bottom), 48.5-32 (middle) cm (limestone).



Figure 13. Castle of Antalya, molding.



Figure 14. Antalya Archaeological Museum, screen.



Figure 15. Kütahya Museum, templon pier.



Figure 16. Castle of Antalya, screen fragment.



The stylized oak tree leaf is another motif that was popular in the Mediterranean region, but not encountered in Constantinople. It can be seen on screens found in different settlements on the Lycian coast, for example in Andriake<sup>36</sup> and in Aperlae (Fig. 19). This unity of style may be attributed to traveling workshops.

A third motif, the “diamond cut,” was also used commonly outside of the capital in the Middle Byzantine period. It was prevalent not only in Anatolia, but throughout the Mediterranean region, extending all the way to Sicily.<sup>37</sup> Some good examples of the “diamond cut” motif can be observed on marble screens of high quality workmanship found in Arneae, in Lycia (Fig. 20).<sup>38</sup>

In conclusion, the examples of architectural sculpture presented in this paper demonstrate that the influence of the stone workmanship of Constantinople was very strong in Anatolia all through the Byzantine period, notwithstanding the fact that some original local styles also existed within Anatolia. In the arts that developed in the vast territories of the Byzantine Empire in the course of centuries, it is not at all surprising that there would be regional and temporal differences between the works of art produced in the imperial capital and those produced in the provinces. Nevertheless, we have been able to identify numerous stone works in Anatolia which bear the influence of the capital, in terms of thematic, compositional, stylistic and technical characteristics.

<sup>36</sup> See Feld, “Nikolaoskirche,” pl. 132.G.

<sup>37</sup> G. Agnello, *Le arti figurative nella Sicilia bizantina* (Palermo, 1962), figs. 5, 12, 24, 25.

<sup>38</sup> See Alpaslan, “Antalya,” in print. The dimensions of the screens in Arneae are h: 27, w: 30, th:- and h: 19, w: 25, th:- cm, respectively.

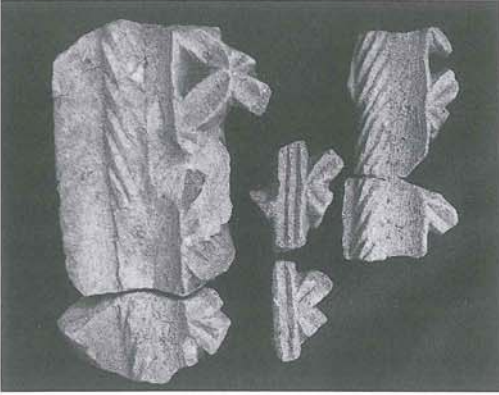


Figure 17. Myra, church of St. Nicholas, openwork screen fragments.



Figure 18. Finike, Cumhuriyet Park, pier.



Figure 19. Aperlae, screen fragment.

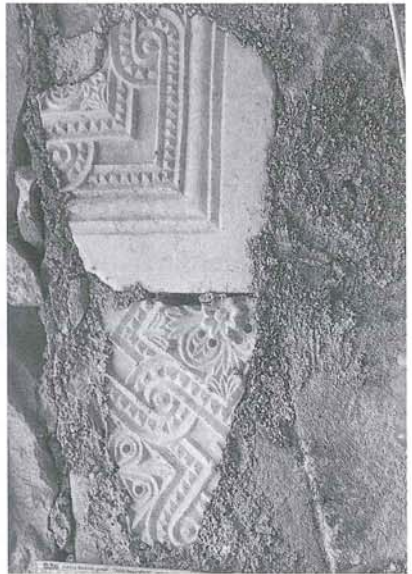


Figure 20. Arneae, screen fragments.



JOHN MALAXOS (16TH CENTURY) AND HIS  
COLLECTION OF *ANTIQUITATES CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE*\*

Peter Schreiner

The year 1453 is commonly viewed as one of the most catastrophic years in European history, a turning point marking the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Era. The political history of an empire was brought to an end by the fall of Constantinople. But was 1453 really a disaster that turned everything to dust and ruins?

The history of Greek Constantinople in the fifteenth century, both before and after 1453, remains yet to be written, but the danger of the City's capture had been evident to contemporaries since 1394. All those who could afford it brought their belongings and families to safety. After 1204 Constantinople in general was not as densely populated as it had been before that date. Travel reports of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reflect the extent of the decline, and the illustrations in Buondelmonti's work provide us with some vivid pictures of decay, even though their historicity remains problematic. On the other hand, Giacomo Badoer's book of accounts, which covers the period from 1436 to 1440,<sup>1</sup> shows that Constantinople still remained a lively commercial center. And as late as 1446 Isidore of Kiev copied ancient scientific writings there.<sup>2</sup>

The story of the fall of Constantinople is dominated by Greek historiography and its ideological perspective—understandable for the contemporaries, since the City's fall meant the loss of national

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\* The following is essentially the annotated version of my paper as it was delivered at the Workshop. The texts themselves, mostly unedited, in particular those from Vat. Reg. gr. 166, will be published elsewhere, together with detailed annotations. For their assistance in the preparation of the English version of my paper, I would like to thank Ph.D. candidate Sonja Güntner/Cologne and Prof. Ihor Ševčenko/Cambridge. Prof. Ševčenko contributed a number of comments, which have been incorporated into this text.

<sup>1</sup> *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer (Costantinopoli 1436-1440)*, eds. U. Dorini and T. Bertelè (Rome, 1956).

<sup>2</sup> G. Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno e codici a lui appartenuti che si conservano nella Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Rome, 1926), 73-4.

independence.<sup>3</sup> Looking at the events from our modern viewpoint, however, we should keep a certain distance, and not just in terms of time.

Even Greek sources concede that Mehmed the Conqueror ordered the looting to be stopped soon, since it was clearly in his interest to reside in a not totally destroyed city.<sup>4</sup> Herein lies a major difference between his behavior and that of the crusaders of 1204. From 1453 onwards, the Patriarchate became the center for all things Greek in the city.<sup>5</sup> This "Hellenism" moved closer and closer to the notion of Orthodoxy,<sup>6</sup> but we know relatively little about the continuation of interest in antiquity. Only a multi-layered approach can provide us with a more comprehensive idea of Hellenism—i.e. of a Greekness deeply rooted in the classical tradition—during the decades after the capture of Constantinople. One of its foremost representatives was Kritoboulos, the historian. He wrote a work of history, following the ideal of classical historians, and he copied manuscripts of Thucydides, Herodotus, Arrian and Aelius Aristides.<sup>7</sup> We know of another historian who was totally committed to the classical models and who worked in Constantinople at that time: his name was Laonikos Chalkokondyles.<sup>8</sup>

### *John Malaxos and his Circle*

This paper cannot possibly give a complete picture of antiquarian tendencies that existed among the Greeks living in early Ottoman Istanbul. These tendencies were by no means limited in time to the reign of sultan Mehmed the Conqueror; they continued throughout the sixteenth century. Significant proof of this is provided by the

<sup>3</sup> *La caduta di Costantinopoli. Le testimonianze dei contemporanei*, ed. A. Pertusi, 2 vols. (Verona, 1976).

<sup>4</sup> Doukas XL.1, *Historia Turcobyzantina*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest, 1958), 375.15, quotes the following remark made by Mehmed II to a plundering Turk: "You will have to be satisfied with the treasures and the prisoners; the buildings of the City are mine."

<sup>5</sup> See S. Runciman, *The Great Church in Captivity. A Study of the Patriarchate of Constantinople from the Eve of the Turkish Conquest to the Greek War of Independence* (Cambridge, 1968) and especially G. Podskalsky, *Griechische Theologie in der Zeit der Türkenherrschaft 1453–1821* (Munich, 1988), 81–117.

<sup>6</sup> A. E. Vakalopoulos, *Ἱστορία τοῦ νέου ἑλληνισμοῦ*, II/1 (Thessaloniki, 1964), hardly touches on the developments in Constantinople.

<sup>7</sup> For details, see D. R. Reinsch, *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae* (Berlin, 1983), 68\*–71\*.

<sup>8</sup> H. Wurm, "Bemerkungen zu Laonikos Chalkokondyles," *JÖB* 42 (1992), 213–9.

antiquarian work of Manuel Malaxos and especially that of John Malaxos, and their circle.

Both scholars came to Istanbul from Venetian Nauplion, which they left after that town's conquest by the Ottomans in 1540.<sup>9</sup> It is not exactly clear how they were related, but John seems to have been the younger of the two. Manuel spent a couple of years in Venice and it was presumably in 1562/63 that he moved to Istanbul, while John had probably gone there directly. We do not know what John's exact occupation was, but he was certainly connected with the Patriarchate.

### *The Copying Activity*

Owing in particular to the research done by Giuseppe de Gregorio, we have a full account of John Malaxos' work as a copyist.<sup>10</sup> The execution of as many as twenty-two manuscripts, or parts of manuscripts, can be attributed to him. They cover several of his areas of interest, even though some of them were commissions:

- 1) Writings of theological, canonistical or liturgical nature (Lavra E 154, Vatopedi 1071, Straßburg 1904, Tyb. Mb 30).
- 2) Medical and pseudomedical treatises (Straßburg 1900, Vindob. med. gr. 27, Vat. gr. 2386, Vindob. med. gr. 43).
- 3) Chronographical texts, namely two copies of the chronicle by Constantine Manasses (Straßburg 1903, Vatican. Reg. gr. 166), the epitome by Zonaras (Straßburg 1898) and the chronicle by John Skylitzes (Vat. Reg. gr. 86). To this group belongs also the Vienna Niketas Choniates manuscript (13th c.) with a portrait of the historian (Vindob. hist. gr. 53), owned by John.
- 4) Texts on the history of Constantinople, including oracles, prophecies and rulers' lists (Vindob. gr. 80, Vindob. suppl. gr. 172, Haun. GKS 2147,4°, Haun. GKS 2148,4°, Leid. BPG 74K, Cantabr. 0.2.36).

<sup>9</sup> G. de Gregorio, *Il copista greco Manouel Malaxos. Studio biografico e paleografico-codicologico* (Vatican, 1991); idem, "Studi su copisti greci del tardo Cinquecento: I. Ancora Manuel Malaxos," *RHM* 37 (1995), 97–144 and idem, "Studi su copisti greci del tardo Cinquecento: II. Ioannes Malaxos e Theodosios Zygomalas," *RHM* 38 (1996), 189–268. Concerning the Malaxos family, see Chr. Gastgeber, "Neues zur Familie der Malaxoi," *JÖB* 48 (1998), 273–91.

<sup>10</sup> The following statements are based on de Gregorio's writings, cited in the previous note, as well as on Reg. gr. 166, which remained unknown to de Gregorio.

*The Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae*

Even a cursory glance at John Malaxos' work as a copyist indicates that he was concerned with the history of Constantinople. He collected not only historical notes on the past and present of the city, but he also paid attention to its monuments. It is not always easy to distinguish, especially when it comes to epigraphical texts, between what he copied from already existing written sources and what he copied in situ. He brought this material together in booklets or on consecutive sheets, which allows us to speak of a Corpus tradition. In this way some texts were copied several times. Most of these texts, if not all of them, were of no significance outside of Istanbul and could only be understood by people living in the city. One is tempted to assume that they were used for private teaching.<sup>11</sup> This is suggested by the vernacular character of his descriptions, even though he copied the epigrams themselves in a literary language. These "booklets" are similar to the abovementioned texts on the city's history (see no. 4 of our list of copied manuscripts), and they do not always deal with monuments alone. But it would certainly be inappropriate to reproach a sixteenth-century author of inconsistencies as regards content.

Five such booklets with notices on antiquities can be reconstructed and dated by means of watermarks or other criteria:

- 1) The earliest collection, so far unknown as such,<sup>12</sup> has come down to us in the Vat. Reg. gr. 166 (fols. 13–15<sup>v</sup>, 207, 212–214<sup>v</sup>).<sup>13</sup> It can be dated by watermarks to 1547.<sup>14</sup> It contains twelve epigrams, five of them with no recognizable reference to any building in Constantinople.

<sup>11</sup> This kind of Corpus tradition is characteristic of many so-called *Kleinchroniken*, the contents of which were equally insignificant outside the Greek-speaking world. I have assumed a didactic motivation for this type of collection: P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, II (Vienna, 1977), 34–5.

<sup>12</sup> S. G. Mercati, who did not realize the corpus character of Vat. Reg. gr. 166, edited some of its texts or used this manuscript for other editions at some points: see idem, *Collectanea Byzantina* (Bari, 1970), Index.

<sup>13</sup> The texts concerning Constantinople are attached to a 13th-century Manasses manuscript, described by O. Lampsidis, ed., *Constantini Manassis Breviarium Chronicum* (Athens, 1996), XCIII; it contains corrections in John Malaxos' hand. The manuscript's binding was executed badly (perhaps as early as in the 16th century), which is why the individual parts of the *Antiquitates* collection are kept separately.

<sup>14</sup> f. 26 (section of the Manasses chronicle with additions by John) contains the angel's head as in C. M. Briquet, *Les filigranes* (Paris, 1907), no. 629 (a. 1547) with the identical counter mark.

- 2) Four consecutive pages in Vindob. med. gr. 43 (fols. 142<sup>v</sup>–144<sup>v</sup>) provide seven epigrams from monuments in Constantinople, compiled between 1543 and 1558.<sup>15</sup>
- 3) Seven inscriptions were put together in a separate booklet (Quaternio) at the outset of Vindob. hist. gr. 98 (fols. 1–7<sup>v</sup>).<sup>16</sup> Each of the epigrams (in black ink) is joined by a short historical commentary (in red ink). The booklet dates from 1565.<sup>17</sup>
- 4) A so far unknown booklet in Ottob. gr. 309 (fols. 164–171) is to be dated to a time between 1567 and 1573. This booklet may not come from John himself, but from his circle.<sup>18</sup>
- 5) Incorporated in a large collection of texts concerning the history of Constantinople in a Cambridge manuscript (0.2.36, fols. 122–191<sup>v</sup>), two booklets (fols. 145<sup>v</sup>–161) reproduce the inscriptions of the Pammakaristos church. They are followed by a treatise on the gates in the walls of Constantinople (fols. 162<sup>r</sup>–164<sup>v</sup>). For historical reasons, the production of these booklets is to be assigned to the years between 1572 and 1587.<sup>19</sup>

### *The Contents of the Antiquitates*

It can generally be said that John Malaxos copied almost exclusively epigrams of monuments and buildings, together with a short description of the historical context or of the contemporary circumstances of a given monument. What follows is a systematical analysis of the most important texts found in the five booklets.

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<sup>15</sup> Ox-head watermark similar to Briquet 14525 (a. 1543 and later). The watermark is barely recognizable and cannot be found among the examples listed in the reference book by G. Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard, 2: Ochsenkopfwasserzeichen* (Stuttgart, 1966).

<sup>16</sup> The verso of f. 7 as well as the last sheet of the booklet (f. 7/1 = f. 8) remained blank.

<sup>17</sup> Watermark: pilgrim, very similar to Briquet 7607 (with identical counter marks). All texts contained in this booklet were edited by R. Förster, *De antiquitatibus et libris manuscriptis Constantinopolitanis commentatio* (Rostock, 1877).

<sup>18</sup> This miscellaneous manuscript consists of texts widely disparate with regard to both the time when they were written down and their contents. They were bound together to form a single volume in the 16th century. Just as in the abovementioned case (see note 12), Mercati used Ottob. gr. 309 for individual editions without becoming aware of the corpus character of the booklet. The dating is provided by a year mentioned in the first text (1567) and the watermark (anchor in circle with star, similar to Piccard, *Wasserzeichenkartei, 6: Wasserzeichen Anker* [Stuttgart, 1978], pt. V, nos. 101–106, a. 1557–1573).

<sup>19</sup> Texts edited by P. Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche (Fethiye Camii) und weitere Texte zur Topographie Konstantinopels," *DOP* 25 (1971), 217–48. When I wrote this article, I was not yet able to identify the copyist.



The largest group of epigrams refers to those from buildings: inscriptions on the bronze gates of Hagia Sophia, in Sts. Sergios and Bakchos, on the parekklesion of the Pammakaristos, on Constantine's column and both obelisks in the Hippodrome, on the gates of the city walls, and inside the Pammakaristos, where the inscriptions point to the renovation of the church after the end of Latin rule. Some of the inscriptions are repeated in several booklets, such as the donor inscription on the outer walls of the Pammakaristos or the inscriptions on the obelisk of the Hippodrome.

The number of funerary inscriptions is considerably smaller. Here a distinction is to be made between a mere rendering of names, such as those on the graves of the Pammakaristos, and funerary epigrams in the actual sense. John Malaxos limits his copying of the latter to only three persons: Constantina, the wife of emperor Maurice, the emperors Julian and Nikephoros Phokas. Probably none of the three inscriptions was extant at the time of Malaxos. It is difficult to explain why he chose these three. Many writers found the macabre end of Maurice's family worth mentioning.<sup>20</sup> Both Julian and Nikephoros Phokas repelled external enemies. But it is probably too far-fetched to speculate that this might have been the reason for any interest in them in the sixteenth century.

The third kind of texts collected by Malaxos are inscriptions on paintings and objects, such as on a representation (fresco or mosaic) of the Theotokos in the Pantokrator church,<sup>21</sup> as well as on the mosaics and frescoes in the Pammakaristos.

*Copies from the Original or out of a Codex?*

For us, the texts John Malaxos collected are primarily of literary and antiquarian value. But which texts did he actually see there and then, and which ones did he copy from written sources? Only in very few cases can we be sure about the answer, even though there are some hints indicating that the author could actually have seen

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<sup>20</sup> P. Schreiner, "Der brennende Kaiser. Zur Schaffung eines positiven und eines negativen Kaiserbildes in den Legenden um Maurikios," in *Byzance et ses voisins. Mélanges à la mémoire de Gyula Moravcsik* (Szeged, 1994), 25–31.

<sup>21</sup> G. de Gregorio, "L'iscrizione metrica di Andreas panhypersebastos nella chiesa meridionale del monastero del Pantokrator a Costantinopoli," in *Lesarten. Festschrift für Athanasios Kambylis zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1998), 161–79.

the objects themselves. The texts at our disposal consist mostly of inscriptions. In this respect, John Malaxos is the last representative of a tradition which came into being in antiquity and survived throughout Byzantine times. Its best known documentation is the *Anthologia Graeca*, into which new material was continually incorporated.

John certainly did collect in person the material he presents for the Pammakaristos. The relevant booklet in the Cambridge manuscript might even be the original sketchbook (Fig. 1).<sup>22</sup> The inscription on Constantine's column concerning emperor Manuel I is first found in John's papers. The awkward copy of the Latin inscription on the Hippodrome obelisk seems also to have been taken down directly from the original (Fig. 2). Some mistakes in the Greek text too point to a copying in situ.<sup>23</sup> The donor inscription on the outer walls of the Pammakaristos parekklesion was equally noted down in a fragmentary manner, i.e. with the first verses missing. This suggests that he saw it in situ. He did not, at any rate, fall back upon the collection of epigrams by Manuel Philes, who was the author of the text.<sup>24</sup> The inscription at Sts. Sergios and Bakchos (Küçük Ayasofya Camii) was probably visible under whitewash (just like today), but Malaxos would have had a problem with access to a mosque. He, therefore, may have copied it from some manuscript. As for the funerary epigram for emperor Maurice's wife, the historians Kedrenos, Zonaras and Nikephoros Kallistos had published it before.<sup>25</sup> John repeats the text, while suggesting to the reader that it was still extant in the sixteenth century (καὶ φαίνεται ἕως τὴν σήμερον οὕτως).<sup>26</sup>

In short, John found a major part of the inscriptions not in situ, but in manuscripts. Up to the end of the sixteenth century Greek manuscripts were available in Istanbul in large numbers, and buyers from the west, like Dernschwam, Busbecq, Gerlach or Rijn, took

<sup>22</sup> De Gregorio, "Studi II" (note 9 above), 226, stresses the original character of the booklet, as against my initial scepticism (Schreiner, "Unbekannte Beschreibung," 220-1). I now totally agree with him. E.g., the lines separating the texts were drawn without the help of some ruler (Fig. 1, Cantabr. 0.2.36, fols. 145<sup>v</sup>-146<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>23</sup> Vindob. med. gr. 43, f. 144<sup>r</sup>. De Gregorio, "Studi II," 191, supposes that the awkward Roman letters are the result of a limited familiarity with the language; they much rather point to a copy in situ.

<sup>24</sup> *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, I (Paris, 1855), 117-8 (no. 223).

<sup>25</sup> Georgios Kedrenos, ed. I. Bekker, I (Bonn, 1838), 707-8; *Ioannis Zonarae epitomae historiarum libri XIII-XVIII*, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897), 198; Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, *Ecclesiastica historia*, PG 147, XVIII, cap. 41.

<sup>26</sup> Did he copy the text from Zonaras (see above p. 205, no. 3), only feigning an autopsy?

2<sup>ον</sup>  
 † αὐτὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτὸς  
 βασιλεὺς τῶν ἁγίων.

† ἀδελφὸς βασιλεὺς ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἁγίων.

† ἰωάννης ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ.

† ὁ υἱὸς ἀντιόχειου

† ἡ βασιλεὺς ἀντιόχειου καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ

† ἡ αὐτὴ βασιλεὺς ἀντιόχειου καὶ βασιλεὺς.

† καὶ ἀδελφὸς βασιλεὺς ἀντιόχειου καὶ βασιλεὺς

καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀντιόχειου καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀντιόχειου.

† ἀδελφὸς καὶ υἱὸς ἀντιόχειου καὶ βασιλεὺς  
 καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀντιόχειου.

† ἡ βασιλεὺς ἀντιόχειου καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀντιόχειου καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀντιόχειου.

Fig. 1. Cantabr. Trin. Coll. O. 2. 36 (1140), f. 146<sup>r</sup>.



advantage of that.<sup>27</sup> The sultan's library owned more than 100 Greek manuscripts up until the reign of Murad III (r. 1574–1595).<sup>28</sup> In Vindob. hist. gr. 98, written between 1565 and 1575 and beginning with the booklet of *Antiquitates*, John compiled the catalogues of eight private libraries in Istanbul with a presumable total of 555 Greek manuscripts.<sup>29</sup> In addition, there was the patriarchal library with another 51 manuscripts.<sup>30</sup> The epigrams from the imperial tombs, for example, were recorded in the writings of Zonaras and Skylitzes/Kedrenos, authors whom John himself copied.<sup>31</sup> No copy of the *Anthologia Graeca* is found among the manuscripts which were surely accessible to John, but that does not say much. Manuscripts containing such epigrams were most likely available to him. He may even have used printed editions.<sup>32</sup>

The value of these texts for our knowledge of the history of Constantinople is certainly smaller than their value for literary studies. The most important texts are those of the Pammakaristos, which have made a first dating of the program of construction possible.<sup>33</sup> John's comments upon each of the inscriptions should be examined more closely. It is well possible, for example, that the sarcophagus of emperor Nikephoros Phokas was brought to the Peribleptos monastery<sup>34</sup>

<sup>27</sup> It would be worthwhile to establish an inventory of those manuscripts that were bought in Constantinople after 1453, on the basis of both ambassadorial records and possibly also acquisition notes in the manuscripts themselves. Cf. R. H. W. Stichel, "Zu den verschollenen griechischen Handschriften des kaiserlichen Botschafters bei der Hohen Pforte Karel Rijm (1533–1584)," *Museum Helveticum* 47 (1990), 235–48.

<sup>28</sup> A. Deißmann, *Forschungen und Funde im Serail* (Berlin, 1933), esp. 13–7. Important in this context is the report given by Dominico of Jerusalem, the Jewish personal physician of Murad III.

<sup>29</sup> See the latest edition by G. K. Papazoglu, *Βιβλιοθήκες στην Κωνσταντινούπολι τοῦ 15' αἰῶνα* (κωδ. Vindob. hist. gr. 98) (Thessaloniki, 1983).

<sup>30</sup> Extant only in the Latin copy by Stephan Gerlach; latest edition by Papazoglu, *Βιβλιοθήκες*, 409–12.

<sup>31</sup> See above p. 205, no. 3.

<sup>32</sup> The *Anthologia epigrammatum Graecorum* by Janos Laskaris was published in Florence in 1494. The existence of printed Greek books in Istanbul at this time is proven by the library register of Antonios Kantakouzenos, written by John Malaxos; see Papazoglu, *Βιβλιοθήκες*, 393; mentioned, among others, are *Souda*, *Etymologikon mega* and the *Hesychios lexikon*.

<sup>33</sup> Schreiner, "Unbekannte Beschreibung" and H. Belting et al., *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos* (Washington, D.C., 1978).

<sup>34</sup> As mentioned in Vat. Reg. gr. 166, f. 212.

after the church of the Holy Apostles had been demolished.<sup>35</sup> The treatise on the gates, which has come down to us in two variants, is of scholarly interest even today, considering our incomplete knowledge of the correct terms used for the gates of the city walls.<sup>36</sup>

### *The Tradition of the Patria*

Apart from the texts by John Malaxos discussed above, no other treatises of the same nature have so far come to the fore. When John wrote these texts, between ca. 1550 and 1590, almost all Byzantine churches had either fallen to ruins or been converted to mosques.<sup>37</sup> A little later, in 1609, construction work for the Sultan Ahmet mosque was begun on the site of the former imperial palace. The last remains of Byzantine glory thus disappeared. Under sultan Murad III all interest in non-Islamic writings came to an end.<sup>38</sup> The subsequent fate of the abovementioned eight private libraries is totally unknown. But the best time for important manuscript acquisitions in Ottoman Istanbul seems to have ended by around 1600.

Collecting information on monuments reflecting the City's history has a longstanding tradition in Constantinople. It has given us the texts compiled in the *Parastaseis* as well as those of the *Patria*. At a time when everything was over, a Byzantine (for John Malaxos still deserves this name) set out once again to collect in a modest way what was left of the great past of Constantinople. He collected both what could still be seen as well as what was no longer there (such as emperor Julian's memorial slab), pretending that everything was

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<sup>35</sup> After 1461, Mehmed II handed the church over to monophysite Armenians. Nikephoros, according to some legendary tradition, was of Armenian origin, which may provide a sensible explanation for the transfer. The most recent excavations in Sulu Manastr, however, provided no indications for an emperor's burial place: F. Özgümüş, "Peribleptos Manastrı," *Sanat Tarihi Araştırmaları Dergisi* 14 (1997–98), 21–31 and idem, "Peribleptos ("Sulu") Monastery in Istanbul," *BZ* 93 (2000), 508–20.

<sup>36</sup> Edited by Schreiner, "Unbekannte Beschreibung," 241–6 and Th. Preger, "Studien zur Topographie Konstantinopels IV," *BZ* 21 (1912), 461–71. For the evaluation, cf. A. M. Schneider, "Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1950, Heft 5 and A. Berger, "Zur Topographie der Ufergegend am Goldenen Horn in der byzantinischen Zeit," *IstMitt* 45 (1995), 149–65.

<sup>37</sup> This is demonstrated by the dates given in Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*.

<sup>38</sup> Deißmann, *Forschungen und Funde*, 19.

still in place. His collecting activity provided material for Stephan Gerlach and Martin Crusius,<sup>39</sup> and the copying of some texts may be explained by the humanistic tradition with which Manuel Malaxos (but hardly John himself) had come into contact in Venice.<sup>40</sup> It seems, however, that the major motive for this research was the desire to preserve the tradition of Christian Byzantium in Muslim Constantinople/Istanbul. Gilbert Dagron has called the world of the *Parastaseis* and the *Patria*, edited in the eighth and tenth centuries respectively, a “Constantinople imaginaire.” Texts of this kind produced after the fall of the Byzantine Empire reflect a “Constantinople nostalgique.”

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<sup>39</sup> G. E. Zachariades, *Tübingen und Konstantinopel. Martin Crusius und seine Verhandlungen mit der Griechisch-Orthodoxen Kirche* (Göttingen, 1941).

<sup>40</sup> De Gregorio, *Manouel Malaxos* (note 9 above); idem, “Studi II,” 192, rules out the possibility of John’s having stayed in the West.

SECTION FIVE  
NEW ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE





BYZANTINE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS IN ISTANBUL  
DURING THE LAST DECADE

Mehmet İ. Tunay

It has now been some thirty years that the *Annual of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul* (*İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri Yıllığı*), which used to inform the scholarly world about new archaeological findings in Istanbul, has ceased to be published. Since then, with the encouragement particularly of Professors C. Mango and T. F. Mathews, I have undertaken to follow up personally on the foundation excavations of Istanbul, keep record of the new Byzantine findings in the city, and announce these to the public by means of lectures as well as notices in various Turkish and foreign journals. In this paper, which forms part of my ongoing work devoted to the archaeological findings of the Byzantine era in Istanbul, I will present some of the major discoveries of the last ten years.

*Hypogeum of Silivrikapı* (Figs. 1–4)

In the course of the restoration of the land walls in 1988, as the earth level was lowered, the most important Byzantine site of the last fifty years—the hypogeum of Silivrikapı—came to light. Yet, due to a disagreement between the archaeological experts and cultural departments of the government, immediate measures could not be taken for the protection of the hypogeum. Only an iron gate was placed at its entrance, which made the site very attractive to treasure hunters. Shortly after this important discovery, a TV documentary called “*Sur Günlüğü*” (*Diary of the Walls*) was produced. The restoration of the hypogeum, completed in 1993, has been largely based on the evidence of this film. In 1993/4, J. G. Deckers and Ü. Serdaroğlu published the results of the restoration work.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. G. Deckers and Ü. Serdaroğlu, “Das Hypogäum beim Silivri-Kapı in Istanbul,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 36 (1993) [Münster, 1994], 140–63.

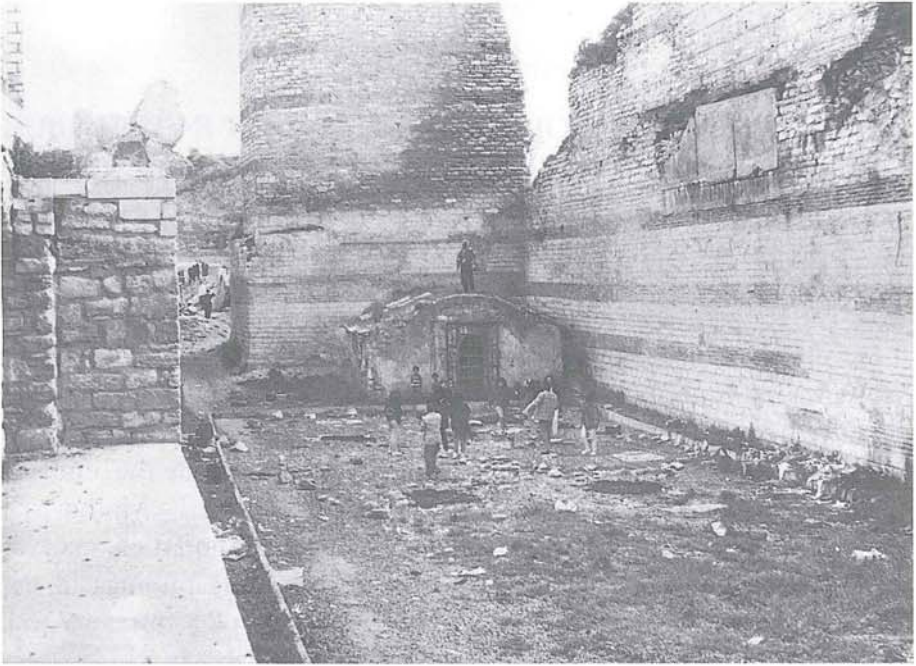


Figure 1. Hypogeum of Silivrikapı.



Figure 2. Hypogeum of Silivrikapı, relief.



Figure 3. Hypogeum of Silivrikapi, fresco.



Figure 4. Hypogeum of Silivrikapi, fresco.

Inside the hypogeum, stone reliefs which showed Byzantine sculptural techniques of the late fourth and early fifth centuries were found. The window frame was one of a kind, a rare example encountered in Byzantine architecture; unfortunately only its photographs remain today. The hypogeum also enclosed a sarcophagus and six tomb lids. While the sarcophagus is still in situ, the lids have been damaged by thieves, who broke them into eighteen pieces during an unsuccessful attempt to steal them. The police later caught the thieves, and all the pieces were then transferred to the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul. The fresco decoration of the hypogeum, which was found covered with plaster, is at present partly ruined, too, as a result of the careless removal of the plaster application by a guard on duty.

*Excavations between Silivrikapı and Mevlevihanekapı (Figs. 5–8)*

In 1992, while I was the advisor of the restoration excavations at this site, a four-chambered hypogeum was discovered just south of the tower identified as “tower 46.” This tower bears six monograms, which have been published by C. Foss and D. Winfield in their book on Byzantine fortifications, that allow us to date the restoration of the walls to the period shortly before Iconoclasm.<sup>2</sup> In one of the chambers of the hypogeum, we found four cross figures in fresco, reflecting the style of the Iconoclastic period. Thus, the frescoes must have been produced sometime not long after the restoration date indicated by the monograms on tower 46. Nothing else was found in the hypogeum except for a glass censer. On the north side of tower 46, on the other hand, we found seven tombs, decorated with frescoes featuring same type crosses.

*Excavations between Mevlevihanekapı and Millet Caddesi (Fig. 9)*

During the excavations carried out between Millet Caddesi and Mevlevihanekapı, of which I was a team member, several cross-shaped tomb stelai were found. Back in the 1950s, while construction was under way of a new network of roads and avenues, excavated

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<sup>2</sup> C. Foss and D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications: An Introduction* (Pretoria, 1986), 53.

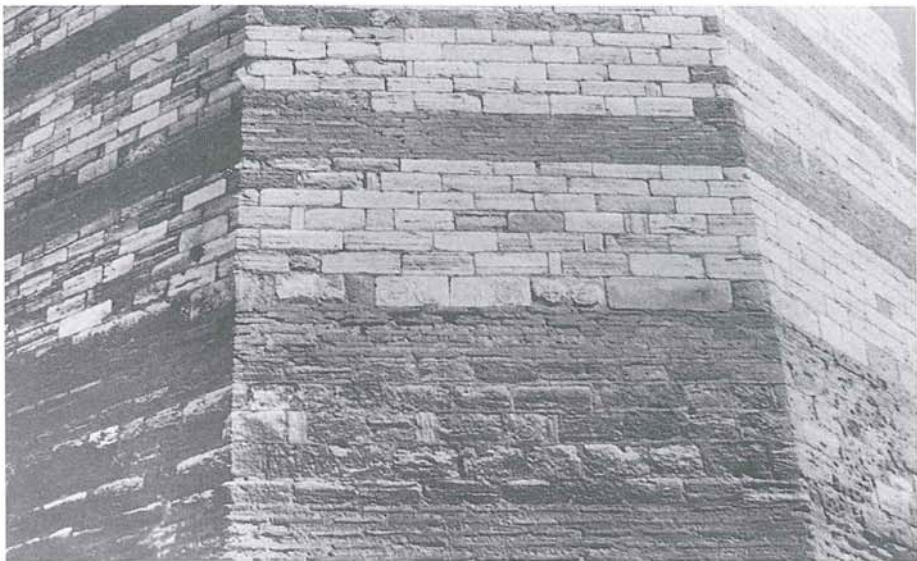


Figure 5. Between Silivrikapı and Mevlevihanekapı: fortification tower 46 bearing six monograms.



Figure 6. Between Silivrikapı and Mevlevihanekapı: four-chambered hypogeum discovered south of tower 46.



Figure 7. Between Silivrikapı and Mevlevihanekapı: interior of the hypogeum.

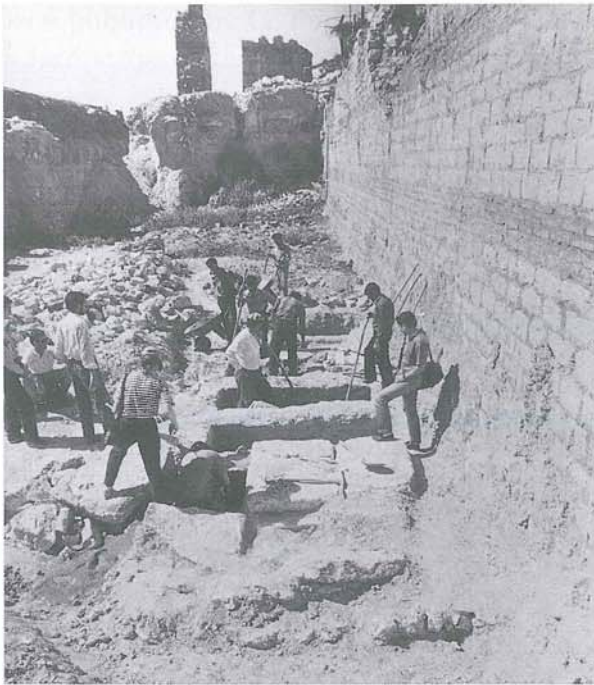


Figure 8. Between Silivrikapı and Mevlevihanekapı: tombs discovered north of tower 46.

earth from the Şehremini region was presumably dumped here, which explains the presence of the stelai at this site. In the same area, we also ran into sarcophagus fragments with reliefs which bear close resemblance to those that were discovered in the Taşkasap quarter in 1959 and are now housed at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.<sup>3</sup>

*Excavations between Sarayburnu and Ahırkapı Feneri* (Fig. 10)

Between Sarayburnu and Ahırkapı Feneri is located the Mangana palace. The Mangana region, which extends all the way to the edge of the Topkapı Palace, was excavated by the French during the occupation of Istanbul in 1919–1921, and the results of this work were later published by R. Demangel and E. Mamboury in Paris.<sup>4</sup> Demangel had not had sufficient time to excavate the entire region, and he had to cover up most of the excavated sites before leaving. In the course of the restoration of the fortifications in the early 1990s, several fragments of architectural sculpture, which originally belonged to the church of St. Polyeuktos at Saraçhane, were found stacked inside one of the restored towers in this region.

*The Great Palace* (Figs. 11–14)

Again in the early 1990s, during the restoration excavations around the section of the fortifications incorporating the site of the Hormisdas palace (sixth century), ruins of a second wall came to light, suggesting the subsequent use of the building for a different function. In addition, in situ columns were found that now give the building a new look. Unfortunately, following the local elections in 1994, work at this site was stopped by the new municipal administration and remains incomplete.

As for the Great Palace site itself, to which the Hormisdas is connected, some years ago right across from the Mosaic Museum a hotel was constructed illegally. To the east of this hotel, the so-called

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<sup>3</sup> See N. Firath, “Deux nouveaux reliefs funéraires d’Istanbul et les reliefs similaires,” *CahArch* 11 (1960), 73–92.

<sup>4</sup> R. Demangel and E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes et la première région de Constantinople* (Paris, 1939).





Figure 9. Cross-shaped stelai excavated between Mevlevihanekapı and Millet Caddesi.



Figure 10. Architectural sculpture from St. Polyuktos found in the Mangana region.



Figure 11. Great Palace.



Figure 12. Great Palace.

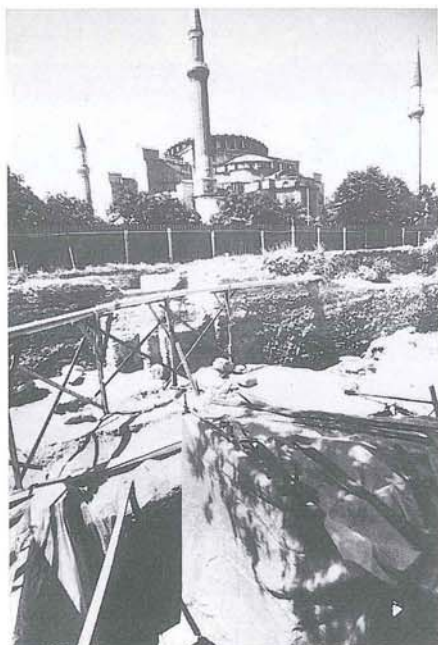


Figure 13. Great Palace.

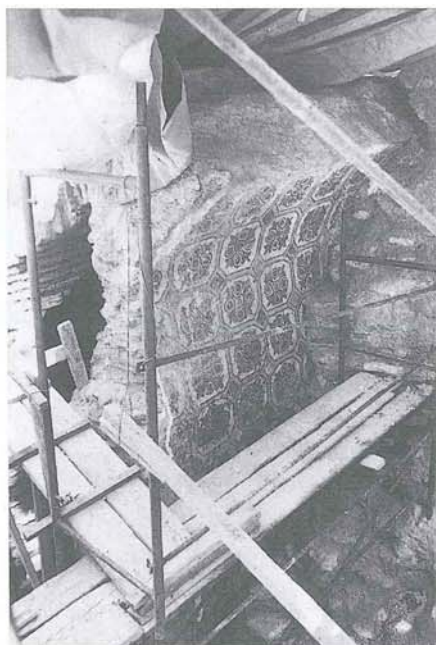


Figure 14. Great Palace.

Staircased Tower (Merdiven Kulesi), which can be identified as the Magnaura palace, was cleaned. On the same street a larger section of the palace was uncovered. In 1998, what may have been the archive building of the palace was found. This structure was constructed in the sixth century; frescoes were applied to it in the tenth century; and later, in the sixteenth century, part of it was rebuilt by the Ottomans and may have functioned as the Nakkaşhane, i.e. workshop of court painters and illuminators. During the nineteenth century, the Fossati brothers ruined the site while building the Adliye Sarayı (Courthouse) there.

### *St. Sophia's Eastern Arch*

Another major discovery of the last decade is the mid-fourteenth-century mosaic of the emperor John V Palaiologos located on the north side of St. Sophia's eastern arch. This mosaic, known to us from drawings prepared by the Fossatis during their restoration of the building in 1847–1849,<sup>5</sup> accidentally came to light when part of the plaster covering it fell off due to dampness caused by water leakage from the dome.

### *Outer Courtyard of the Sultan Ahmet Mosque (Fig. 15)*

As everyone knows well, this is a first degree historical site. During a non-scientific excavation organized by the mosque authorities in the early 1990s, gateways, seats and a large number of monogrammed columns, all belonging to the Hippodrome of Constantinople, were found in the mosque's outer courtyard. This illegal work was brought to a stop by the Istanbul Archaeological Museum officials.

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<sup>5</sup> See C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962), fig. 97; reproduced also in N. B. Teteriatnikov, *Mosaics of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul: The Fossati Restoration and the Work of the Byzantine Institute* (Washington, D.C., 1998), fig. 3.

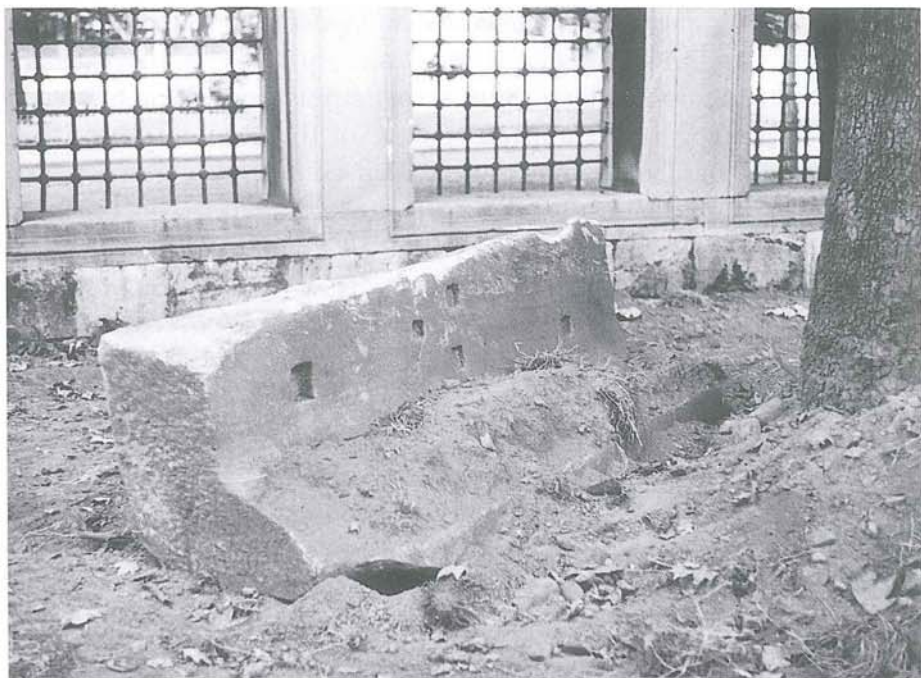


Figure 15. Hippodrome seat excavated in the courtyard of the Sultan Ahmet mosque.



Figure 16. Pavilion of a Roman imperial palace found across from the Adliye Sarayı.

*Another Finding across from the Adliye Sarayı (Fig. 16)*

In the Sultanahmet region, right across from the Adliye Sarayı, a pavilion belonging to an imperial palace of the Roman period was uncovered. It was heard that the pavilion contained a fresco panel, which, however, was destroyed before it could even be documented by photograph.

*Bodrum Camii Cistern (Fig. 17)*

During the construction of a parking lot in the Laleli quarter, the stairs on the south side of the Bodrum Camii (Myrelaion) cistern were destroyed. The multi-domed roof of the cistern was exposed as well, but at present the domes are no longer visible, as they have been covered over by a flat stone platform.

*Anicia Juliana's Palace*

During the construction of the Belediye Sarayı (Town Hall) at Saraçhane in the 1950s, some palace floor mosaics had been found. They are now displayed at the outer narthex of the St. Sophia Museum. In 1991, the foundation of an old building was discovered close to the same location. Given that Anicia Juliana owned a residential palace in this region, near the church of St. Polyuktos,<sup>6</sup> the abovementioned findings might plausibly be the remains of her palace.

*Atik Mustafa Paşa Mosque*

The floor of this former Byzantine church was recently redone under the supervision of the Vakıflar (General Directorate of Pious Foundations). This would have been the perfect occasion to conduct an archaeological search for the reliquary of the church as well as for other traces of evidence that might help resolve the controversy concerning the building's original name (Hagia Thekla?). But per-

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<sup>6</sup> See Harrison, *Saraçhane*, I, 8–9; and P. Magdalino's paper in this volume.

mission, applied for by the present author, was not granted. During the restoration work, tesserae were detected on the floor, indicating the existence of mosaic panels as well as frescoes in the building.

*Samatya: Floor Mosaic with Dionysiac Motif (Fig. 18)*

This mosaic probably decorated the floor of a rich Byzantine's mansion, located outside the Constantinian wall in the direction of the Arianus Gate.

*Foundation near Zeyrek Camii (Fig. 19)*

In 1998, a foundation was discovered near Zeyrek Kilise Camii (the Pantokrator complex). On its remaining wall heart-shaped decorative motifs can be observed. This structure, which seems to date from the later part of the Middle Byzantine period, was used first as a church, then as a cistern.

*The Apse of Kalenderhane (Fig. 20)*

In the summer of 1998, when the wooden building attached to Kalenderhane Camii was knocked down, the apse of the Byzantine church, lying hidden behind the wooden structure, was exposed for a short time. Yet, a new building was immediately constructed on the same site, thus concealing the apse from sight perhaps for another century.

*Underwater Archaeology at St. Sophia*

Very recently, underwater archaeological work was conducted in the cistern and in the wells of St. Sophia. A TV documentary covering this work is expected to be released soon.



Figure 17. Bodrum Camii cistern, domed roof.



Figure 18. Samatya, floor mosaic with Dionysiac motif.



Figure 19. Foundation near Zeyrek Camii.



Figure 20. The apse of Kalenderhane.





SECTION SIX

MERCHANTS, CRAFTSMEN AND THE MARKETPLACE



THE *KOMMERKIARIOS* OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Nicolas Oikonomides†

The office of *kommerkiarios* appears in the sixth century. The term seems to have been the Greek translation of the *comes commerciorum*. In a time of limited supply of silk and severe limitations on its circulation, he was in charge of buying whatever quantity of this luxurious commodity the Iranian merchants brought to the eastern border of the Empire in an effort to keep its price down and with a view to reselling it to the home workers for textile production. One of the earliest known *kommerkiarioi* was the influential Magnus in late sixth-century Syria.<sup>1</sup>

The early *kommerkiarioi* were all settled in the Middle East and were related to the city of Antioch or to those of Tyre and Beirut. From the late twenties of the seventh century onwards, the *kommerkiarioi* appear in many other provinces of the Empire: first in Cyprus, then in Byzantine North Africa and in Asia Minor, later in the Aegean and in Europe. All this we know mainly from their special seals, which are usually decorated with the imperial effigy and, from 673/4 onwards, also mention the indiction for which they were valid, a feature which, combined with the effigy, allows us to date them with precision. These seals mention the province or provinces over which the *kommerkiarios* wielded authority. The main institution which they had under their control was called an *apotheke* (warehouse), which may have been initially a real building where they conducted business and stored their merchandise, but which soon acquired an abstract meaning, indicating the local representation of the *kommerkiarios* in the region of his authority—we have *apothekai* which cover many provinces and in combinations which change from one year to the other.

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<sup>1</sup> On the person of Magnus, one should now see the work of I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Sixth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1995), index s.v.

owner of a "general store," buying and selling all kinds of merchandise. But silk was the item over which the *kommerkiarios* (or his representative) had the monopoly and the item for which he used the special seal with the imperial effigy. This brings to mind a situation which prevailed until very recently: the person representing the state monopoly in a town also kept the general store there. There are some seals of *kommerkiarioi* of the common type, presumably used for their regular correspondence, but one may assume that their business in non-precious items (and, eventually, in money or grain lending) was conducted, as in the case of everyone else, without the use of any seals. Consequently this activity of "commoners" did not leave any traces in sigillography (or in any other source, for that matter).

Thus the point of my discussion is not what all the business of the *kommerkiarios* was, but rather the business for which he used his special seal with the imperial effigy. And this, I still think, was silk.

The above two points, made here more clearly than in my article of 1986, answer, I believe, the main objections which my article has raised:<sup>5</sup> i.e. (a) that there were regions where for climatic reasons the growing of the mulberry (and consequently the production of silk) was impossible, and (b) that the business of the *kommerkiarioi* must have been more diversified than dealing in silk exclusively. I do not believe that there was in Byzantium any region in which producing and especially dealing in silk, albeit in small quantities, was impossible for climatic reasons; and I certainly believe that the economic activities of the *kommerkiarioi* were diversified, but this did not concern their special seals. But I feel it necessary to reiterate my complete disagreement with the idea that the *kommerkiarioi* were mainly a kind of quartermasters general supplying the army with weapons, because it is not supported by any source and is based on the false assumption that the *kommerkiarioi* appear close to war zones.<sup>6</sup> I should also stress that the seals of the Slav prisoners sold

<sup>5</sup> J. F. Haldon, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century. The Transformation of a Culture* (Cambridge, 1990), 232 ff.; D. Jacoby, "Silk in Western Byzantium before the Fourth Crusade," *BZ* 84/85 (1991-92), 453-4; A. Dunn, "The *Kommerkiarios*, the *Apotheke*, the *Dromos*, the *Vardarios* and *The West*," *BMGS* 17 (1993), 3 ff.; A. Muthesius, "The Byzantine Silk Industry: Lopez and Beyond," *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), 1-67.

<sup>6</sup> This point of view, initially proposed by M. Hendy, *Studies in Byzantine Monetary Economy* (Cambridge, 1985), 624, 626-34, 654-62, has been criticised in my article (p. 35, n. 12) but has been revived by Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 235-8 to whom I have briefly responded in "Le marchand byzantin des provinces," published in

as slaves, which have been connected with the campaign of 692, all date from the years 693/4 and 694/5; thus, they cannot have any relation with the preparation for this campaign.<sup>7</sup> Finally, I must state my partial disagreement with the idea that the main function of the *kommerkiarioi* was to collect taxes in kind; they certainly may have collected taxes (in money or in kind) on the side,<sup>8</sup> and this is how they ended by being duty collectors, but this could not have been their main function from the beginning, and it was certainly not the purpose for which their seals with the imperial effigy were made.

It is in this context that the general *kommerkiarios* of the *apotheke* of Constantinople, whose earliest known seal dates from the year 688/9

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*Mercati e mercanti nell'alto medioevo: l'area euroasiatica e l'area mediterranea* (Spoleto, 1993), 640, n. 13. I have to repeat here that the main argument of Hendy/Haldon, that the *kommerkiarioi* appear in regions where military expeditions are in preparation, is simply incorrect. I quote (Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 234): "the campaign in Thrace in 689/90 is accompanied by the appearance of the *apotheke* in Constantinople and Helenopontus, and in the Cyclades and Crete." What is the possible relation of Helenopontus (in the center of the northern coast of Asia Minor), the Cyclades and Crete with operations taking place in Thrace? Is this a "close connection between known military undertakings and the seals of *kommerkiarioi* and *apothekai*" that becomes "compelling" (ibid., 237–8)? I would say that this example rather shows convincingly that no such relationship may be surmised and constitutes rather a proof to the contrary of what it is used for. After all, in the 7th and 8th centuries we have military operations every year, and we have some 300 seals of *kommerkiarioi* covering the whole period. It is only natural that we should have some seals which appear in regions where military operations occurred. But these operations usually happened well after the auction, in which the *kommerkiarios* farmed out his mandate over a given province—this would happen in the autumn, with the beginning of the Byzantine year (September 1), while the military operations usually took place in spring or summer (of the following year), and one can hardly imagine the Byzantine state holding an open auction for the supply of weapons for the following year's campaign, the place of which would have been a state secret.

<sup>7</sup> This point is conceded even by Haldon, *Seventh Century*, 235. We now know that the earlier seals of this sale also belonging to George *apo hypaton* date from the year 693/4: *andrapoda Asias* [S. Bendall, "Slaves or Soldiers?," *Nomismatika Chronika* 8 (1989), 41–3 = *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 3 (1993), 207] and *andrapoda Isaurias kai Kilikias* [W. Seibt and M.-L. Zarnitz, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk* (Vienna, 1997), no. 1.3.4], that is the year after the Byzantine defeat at Sebastopolis, for which the Slavs were held responsible and sold as slaves. It must be stressed here that these seals exist only for the years 693/4 and 694/5 and obviously illustrate an exceptional measure, which does not appear elsewhere. Also it must be stressed that on these seals of *andrapoda* the title *kommerkiarios* does not appear and the word *apotheke* appears only once. Moreover, we know that George *apo hypaton* held in these same years separate mandates for the position of *kommerkiarios* in some of the same provinces, which means that George may have used the *apotheke* network for the slave sale but that the title of *kommerkiarios* was not related to this operation.

<sup>8</sup> This is the theory put forward by Dunn. There is no reason in my opinion to consider them as collectors of taxes in kind: I assume that they collected some taxes as best as they could.

and who is continuously attested until 727/8, appears.<sup>9</sup> In this connection one has to remember that all medieval cities, including Constantinople, contained several private or public gardens where minor agricultural activities could and did take place, especially in the period of urban decline which characterizes the “Dark Centuries” of the Empire. One must also remember that by Constantinople one should understand the city and its economic region, which was supposed to extend to one hundred miles (148 km) from its center, but which probably covered all the land between the capital and the Long Wall of Anastasius, at some two days’ march from it.<sup>10</sup> And we know of at least one seal where the *kommerkiarios* of Constantinople also wielded authority over the province of Hellespontos, on the Asian side of the Straits, where the checkpoint of the customs in Abydos was situated.<sup>11</sup>

Thus the *apotheke* of Constantinople comprised a large region, the most economically developed in all the Empire, containing, beyond the great City, many other towns and fertile lands. This might explain a peculiarity which appears only on seals of *kommerkiarioi* of Constantinople: there may be two different holders of the *apotheke* in the same year, each with his own seal, without mentioning the existence of the other. In indiction 6, which corresponds to the year 692/3, the *apotheke* of Constantinople is held by George *apo hypaton*, a very well attested businessman of the last years of the first reign of Justinian II, and by the otherwise obscure John. In indiction 12, i.e. in the year 713/4, a John *apo eparchon* shares the control of the *apotheke* of Constantinople with the well known association of Synetos and Niketas *apo eparchon*. There is no way of knowing what this distinction between the two simultaneous holders of the title meant in reality, but it seems to show that at least “the cake was big” and could be shared.

In Constantinople resided another service closely related to the silk industry, the *blattion*, attested from the reign of Heraclius to the end of the eighth century. The officials at the head of it, called *archon*

<sup>9</sup> The known seals are listed in G. Zacos and A. Veglery, *Byzantine Lead Seals*, I/1 (Basel, 1972), 170–1, table 21. Add one further seal of John *apo eparchon* of 713/4 published by Ioanna Koltsida-Makri, *Βυζαντινά Μολυβδόβουλλα Συλλογής Ορφανίδη-Νικολαΐδη Νομισματικού Μουσείου Αθηνών* (Athens, 1996), no. 8.

<sup>10</sup> N. Oikonomides, “The Economic Region of Constantinople: From Directed Economy to Free Economy and the Role of the Italians,” in *Europa Medievale e Mondo Bizantino*, eds. G. Arnaldi and G. Cavallo (Rome, 1997), 221–38.

<sup>11</sup> Zacos-Veglery, *Seals*, no. 190.

or *archontes tou blattiou*, had seals from all points of view similar to those of *kommerkiarioi* (imperial effigy, indiction dating). They also held one- or two-year appointments and, when appearing in groups, they were business partners, like the *kommerkiarioi*, who obtained their post by bidding at a state auction. They coupled their title with others, usually—and until 729—with the one of *ergasteriarches*, i.e. head of the imperial silk factory; later they coupled their title with that of general *kommerkiarios* (713/4 and 749/50–785/6 constantly). They controlled the production of silks dyed with the precious purple (*blatta*), which was a material of limited circulation.

Now, if we compare the prosopographical lists of the *kommerkiarioi* of Constantinople and of the *archontes* of the *blattion*,<sup>12</sup> we may make the following observations. For a long period, until the middle of the eighth century, they are two different positions and their holders have different and distinguishable seals, even if they happen to be the same person. Yet it is obvious that their business is similar, as they often happen to be the same person. In 691/2 and in 693/4, the favorite of Justinian II, George *apo hypaton*, was simultaneously general *kommerkiarios* (one seal) and *ergasteriarches* and *archon tou blattiou* (another seal). The same occurs with John *hypatos* in 722/3: on one seal he appears as general *kommerkiarios*, on another as *archon tou blattiou*. But what is more interesting is what happened in 713/4, i.e. during the reign of the emperor Anastasios II. As mentioned above, we have two general *kommerkiarioi* each of whom has his separate seal, John *apo hypaton* on one side and the associates Synetos and Niketas on the other; in the same year, we have two different seals of *archontes* of the *blattion*: (a) the associates Synetos and Niketas, who sign as *archontes* of the *blattion* and *genikoi kommerkiarioi*; and (b) Peter the deacon and John *apo eparchon*, who sign only as *archontes* of the *blattion* (in spite of the fact that in this same year John was also *genikos kommerkiarios*).

The conclusions to be drawn are interesting:

a) Synetos and Niketas first obtained the position of general *kommerkiarios* at the auction and issued their first seal mentioning this alone; then, at a later auction, they obtained the position of *archontes* of the *blattion* and, presumably, issued another seal with this title alone,

<sup>12</sup> A practical way of making this comparison and finding the relevant references is to consult Zacos-Veglery, *Seals*, I/1, 170–2 (table 21) for the warehouse of Constantinople and *ibid.*, 202–5 (table 36) for the *archontes* of the *blattion*.



in the same way as George *apo hypaton* did in 691/2 and 693/4 and John *hypatos* was to do in 722/3. Then, for some reason they had to replace one of their *boulloteria* (say, because it had broken), and they issued a new seal with both titles, *archon tou blattiou* and general *kommerkiarios*, without specifying the *apotheke* because the position of the *blattion* obviously indicated Constantinople. It is clear that what was initially two different functions, obtained at two chronologically distant auctions, could be combined on the same seal, obviously because they were closely connected as far as their object was concerned. The fact that the *blattion* auction occurred after the *apotheke* auction is easily comprehensible if one assumes that the *apotheke* was related to the production of the material (in this case silk) and its concentration together with general trade in a region, occupations which both had to function all year long, while the *blattion* was related to the work of dyeing the raw material, which came after its concentration.

b) John *apo eparchon* had also obtained his second position of general *kommerkiarios* of Constantinople for the same year, as we learn from his seal. But when the second position of the *blattion* was put up for sale, he could not farm it out all by himself; he needed an associate and found him in the person of the deacon Peter, active in the same business for some years already.<sup>13</sup>

It is also clear that in the year 713/4, when there were the two positions of general *kommerkiarioi* of Constantinople, there were also two positions of *archontes* of the *blattion*. Here again the explanation eludes us, but it is obvious that the two positions were somehow related, no doubt because of the object they were concerned with—undoubtedly silk. Here again “the cake was big enough.”

Around 730 a big change occurred in the system: the *kommerkiarioi* and the *apothekai* disappeared and were replaced by the impersonal imperial *kommerkia* of the provinces, which were to prevail in Byzantium until the first half of the ninth century. We have only one seal of imperial *kommerkia* of Constantinople of the years 730–741. Then the seals of the *archontes* of the *blattion* take on the otherwise obsolete title of general *kommerkiarios*, no doubt of Constantinople. In other words, the office of the general *kommerkiarios* was permanently attached to that of the *archon* of the *blattion*, presumably being the

<sup>13</sup> In 711/2 the deacon Peter also held the office of the *blattion* in association with Niketas *apo eparchon*, no doubt the same Niketas who was to associate himself with Synetos in 713/4.

object of one common auction. Would it be difficult to relate this combination with the concentration of the silk industry in Constantinople, in the context of an ever-changing economy?

During this period, we also have several seals of *archontes tou blattiou* and *genikoi kommerkiarioi* which do not display the imperial effigy, but are decorated with the commoners' invocative cruciform monogram, no doubt for the officials' regular correspondence: e.g. the seals of Euphemianos *hypatos*, Niketas (?) imperial *silentiarios*, and Ambros (?) imperial *silentiarios*.<sup>14</sup> All date from the late eighth century; the last may well be identical with the *archon* of the *blattion* and general *kommerkiarios* of 751–775.

The last dated seal of this category is of the year 785/6. Some years later, in 792, a major fire destroyed the *ergodosia* of Constantinople, which were rebuilt by the emperor Constantine VI and his mother Irene before 797.<sup>15</sup> This event is probably related to the disappearance of the seals of *archontes* of the *blattion* and *genikoi kommerkiarioi* of Constantinople; from then on, the products of the imperial workshops were "signed" with woven inscriptions and no longer with a seal bearing the emperor's image. And the whole operation was now in the hands of officials appointed by the emperor, rather than being conducted by businessmen who farmed out their position and gambled on the benefits that they could draw from it.

The case which I have tried to describe is a case of detail. It illustrates the tortuous road followed by the Byzantine state economy in its development and more particularly in the silk industry. We start with two different officials operating in Constantinople, the one trading in silk, the other heading the purple dyeing factories. Both positions are held by successful bidders at auctions which occurred at different times of the year. The business was obviously lucrative enough to be duplicated, at least occasionally, by the creation of two *kommerkiarioi* and two *archontes* of the *blattion* at the same time. Being lucrative, this position was to survive the reform of 730, which transformed all *kommerkia* officials into public employees: the *blattion* and the general *kommerkiarios* [of Constantinople] were amalgamated into one office with a common objective, no doubt the production of the imperial silks, and survived until the very late eighth century. Then,

<sup>14</sup> Zacos-Veglery, *Seals*, nos. 1883, 2264, 2635A.

<sup>15</sup> Theoph., I, 469; Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 269.

on the occasion of the great upheaval caused by the fire of 792, they were to fall victims to a new minor reform, imposing on this operation the same norms which prevailed in all other business of the *kommerkiarioi*. This was the final shrinking of the institution of the businessman who farmed out state operations, and his definitive transformation into a public servant.

LES ARTISANS DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ DE  
CONSTANTINOPLE AUX VII<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLES

Michel Kaplan

L'une des particularités de Constantinople, voulue par son fondateur, fut la présence d'une aristocratie de fonction dotée d'un haut pouvoir d'achat habituée à dépenser largement pour tenir son rang auprès de marchands et d'artisans dont le nombre s'accrut rapidement et qui formaient l'épine dorsale de la société constantinopolitaine. La tradition romaine, consignée dans la législation théodosienne et justinienne, reprise dans les *Basiliques* prévoit l'organisation d'une partie des producteurs du secteur secondaire et tertiaire en corps de métier. Lorsque, dans les derniers mois de son règne, parachevant l'œuvre de codification des Macédoniens, Léon VI donne force de loi au *Livre de l'Éparque*, la rédaction même du traité qui fait appel à la collaboration des corps de métier ainsi réglementés montre la vigueur de ceux-ci.<sup>1</sup> Un (trop) petit nombre de récits hagiographiques<sup>2</sup> qui se déroulent dans les rues de la capitale permettent de compléter utilement le tableau et de confronter les textes normatifs à la vie telle qu'elle s'y déroulait réellement. Nous pouvons ainsi découvrir ces artisans et boutiquiers qui formaient le poumon de la société constantinopolitaine, ceux qui constituaient l'essentiel des dèmes et des autres spectateurs de ce lieu hautement symbolique du pouvoir impérial, l'Hippodrome.

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<sup>1</sup> Tous ces aspects de datation et de préparation du *Livre de l'Éparque* ont été traités dans Koder, *Eparchenbuch*.

<sup>2</sup> *Miracles d'Artémios* (BHG 173), éd. et trad. V. S. Crisafulli, J. W. Nesbitt, *The Miracles of St. Artemios. A Collection of Miracle Stories by an Anonymous Author of Seventh-Century Byzantium*, The Medieval Mediterranean 13 (Leiden-New York-Cologne, 1997), où le texte grec reprend l'édition de A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia græca sacra* (Saint-Petersbourg, 1909), 1-75; *Vie d'André Salos* (BHG 115z), éd. et trad. L. Rydén, *The Life of St Andrew the Fool*, 2 vol., Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 4:1 et 4:2 (Uppsala, 1995).

Cette importance politique suffit à expliquer pourquoi le *Livre de l'Éparque* contient un certain nombre de règlements dont la visée est avant tout politique sans qu'il soit besoin de chercher une quelconque préoccupation d'interventionnisme économique au delà des nécessités de l'ordre public. Nous passerons vite sur ces aspects bien connus.

Chaque artisan ou commerçant ne doit exercer qu'un seul métier. Huit *capitula* affirment ce principe,<sup>3</sup> dont la motivation nous paraît triple. D'abord un souci d'ordre public: comme l'Éparque est chargé d'inscrire les maîtres de métier dans le catalogue de chaque corps de métier, son autorité serait mise en cause s'il tolérait que l'on puisse s'inscrire dans plusieurs métiers simultanément, puisque cela lui interdirait de faire face à ce qui constitue la seconde raison de son intervention, vérifier la qualification. En effet, l'admission dans un métier nécessite souvent un contrôle de qualification, en général limité à la garantie apportée par les autres membres du métier postulé. Une certaine ambiguïté règne d'ailleurs sur ce point. Ainsi "les cérulaires ne doivent pas s'introduire ou se faire admettre dans un autre métier," ce qui montre bien la double hypothèse qu'un cérulaire s'introduise dans un autre métier subrepticement ou selon les règles habituelles et réglementaires de celui-ci. Ce contrôle de qualification vise à garantir la qualité de la production, gage de satisfaction du consommateur mais aussi de compétitivité extérieure. Comme nous l'avons récemment démontré pour les métiers de la soie,<sup>4</sup> cette interdiction vise également à empêcher une concentration excessive dans des métiers relevant de la même chaîne de production. D'autres clauses confirment l'intention d'éviter le cumul de métiers voisins: par exemple, les épiciers se voient interdire d'être également parfumeurs, mais aussi de vendre les produits des savonniers, lingiers, cabaretiers et bouchers pour maintenir la distinction entre les marchandises de seconde qualité<sup>5</sup> que les épiciers détaillent et les matières nobles.

<sup>3</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, IV.7, 92; V.1, 94; VI.1, 96; X.6, 112; XI.2, 114; XIII.1, 118; XVIII.5, 130; XXI.7, 136. Comme on l'a souvent fait remarquer, le XVIII.5 se trouve dans le titre sur les boulangers, mais concerne tous les métiers.

<sup>4</sup> M. Kaplan, "Du cocon au vêtement de soie: concurrence et concentration dans l'artisanat de la soie à Constantinople aux X<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles," dans *EYΦYXIA. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 16 (Paris, 1998), 313-27.

<sup>5</sup> La balance utilisée est le meilleur instrument de distinction entre les matières nobles qui se vendent avec une balance à plateaux, car les quantités commercées de ces matières précieuses sont faibles et que la précision est indispensable, et les matières communes qui se pèsent avec une balance à curseur; cette précision explicite dans Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XXXI.1, 118, se trouve à plusieurs reprises dans le document.

Deuxième aspect de l'intervention préfectorale: assurer que la concurrence soit loyale. Les atteintes à celle-ci peuvent être directes ou plus subtiles. Deux clauses concernant les notaires, métier hautement réglementé parce qu'il participe à l'exercice des pouvoirs publics, prévoient explicitement les conditions de la concurrence. Quand deux notaires instrumentent ensemble, ils se partagent la rémunération, sauf si le second intervenant s'est introduit dans l'affaire non pour y avoir été appelé par le client, mais pour s'y être insinué de sa seule initiative;<sup>6</sup> même protection pour cette clientèle de choix au double plan du montant et de la fréquence des affaires traitées, les *oikoi*, soit les fondations pieuses (*euagès oikos*) auxquelles le texte rattache les monastères et asiles de vieillards, soit les *oikoi* aristocratiques, puisqu'un nouveau notaire ne doit pas tenter de supplanter le notaire habituel. De même, un maître de droit ne doit pas débaucher l'élève de son concurrent tant que le jeune homme n'a pas terminé le temps pour lequel il a payé. On retrouve une clause du même ordre à propos des ouvriers, dont le contrat est de un mois et qui ne peuvent être débauchés dans ce délai, ce qui enlèverait à un concurrent la main d'œuvre nécessaire à la fabrication.<sup>7</sup> De même, lorsqu'un cérulaire se voit interdire de mélanger à la cire de bonne qualité de l'huile ou de la cire de second ordre ou du suif,<sup>8</sup> il s'agit certes de protéger la qualité du produit, car l'usage de matériaux non nobles ne se révélerait au consommateur qu'au moment de l'usage et non de l'achat, mais aussi d'empêcher une concurrence déloyale par le biais d'une baisse artificielle des prix de revient.

La préoccupation d'ordre public est plus nette encore lorsqu'il s'agit d'éviter l'agiotage. Paradoxalement, la dénonciation du stockage pour les temps de disette n'apparaît pas dans le chapitre sur les boulangers, où le contrôle est plus subtil, de façon à rendre l'agiotage impossible: à chaque changement du prix du blé, les boulangers se rendent auprès du *symponos* de l'Éparque pour régler la taille des pains vendus selon le prix de la matière première,<sup>9</sup> ce qui rend en théorie l'agiotage inutile, d'autant que la quantité de blé que chacun peut acheter est contrôlée par le biais des taxes.<sup>10</sup> En revanche, l'interdiction

<sup>6</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, I.6, 78.

<sup>7</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, VIII.10 et 12, 106.

<sup>8</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XI.4, 114.

<sup>9</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XVIII.4, 130.

<sup>10</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XVIII.1, 130. À vrai dire, ce système n'élimine pas complètement l'agiotage, puisque le boulanger pourrait parfaitement stocker le blé jusqu'au moment où, le prix de celui-ci ayant monté, il serait autorisé à régler la quantité de pain vendue sur un prix du blé plus élevé.

de stockage pour les temps de disette figure pour les parfumeurs, les cérulaires, les épiciers, les charcutiers. De toute façon, le caractère central de cette préoccupation résulte du titre XX, sur le *legatarios*, ou adjoint de l'Éparque: il "doit, lorsqu'il trouve des gens qui stockent les marchandises qui entrent dans la ville pour le temps de disette afin de s'engraisser aux dépens de la communauté, les dénoncer à l'Éparque pour . . . qu'on leur confisque ce qu'ils ont stocké."<sup>11</sup>

Par la vie collective de leurs corps de métier, les artisans structurent la société constantinopolitaine. À vrai dire, cette vie collective se devine pour certains métiers dans la mesure où ils ont des représentants auprès de l'Éparque et contrôlent l'admission des nouveaux membres, ceux-ci effectuant parfois un paiement qui suppose une caisse du métier et donc la gestion de celle-ci, mais elle n'apparaît de façon concrète que pour les notaires: la nomination d'un nouveau notaire qui va compléter le nombre des vingt quatre est le résultat d'un vote du primicier et de ses collègues;<sup>12</sup> ceux-ci participent à la cérémonie religieuse de consécration comme aux funérailles du collègue défunt.<sup>13</sup> Quiconque manque une réunion du collège des notaires est mis à l'amende.<sup>14</sup> Dans le même esprit, les notaires sont tenus entre eux à certaines règles d'apparat.<sup>15</sup>

La vie collective ne reste pas circonscrite à l'intérieur des métiers: il existe des confréries ou amicales (*φιλικόν*) comme celle qui organise la vigile (*παννηχίς*) de la fête du Prodrome de l'Oxeia, église où repose le corps d'Artémios. Un homme de cinquante deux ans qui y participe depuis sa jeunesse se retrouve tout démuni lorsqu'il s'aperçoit qu'il s'est fait voler les vêtements qu'il revêt en cette occasion. Le trésorier de l'amicale le met à l'amende; or ce trésorier est le banquier Abraamios "celui qui est près de l'église Saint-Jean-Baptiste."<sup>16</sup> On remarquera donc le caractère local de ce qui constitue visiblement une confraternité de quartier.

<sup>11</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XX.3, 134.

<sup>12</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, I.1, 74.

<sup>13</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, I.3, 76 et I.26, 84.

<sup>14</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, I.4, 76.

<sup>15</sup> Il s'agit des visites d'un notaire à un autre: le notaire visité se rend à la rencontre de son collègue avec les honneurs, le range à sa table au rang convenable et s'abstient de s'adresser à lui de façon outrageante ou blessante: Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, I.9, 78.

<sup>16</sup> *Miracles d'Artémios*, n° 18, 114-6.

Les boutiques sont donc souvent localisées très précisément dans les sources narratives, recueils de miracles ou vies de saint. Certains *ergastèria* sont séparés du domicile de l'artisan. Les orfèvres ne doivent pas travailler l'or ou l'argent chez eux, mais dans leurs ateliers de la Mésè;<sup>17</sup> de même, les métaxoprates doivent vendre la soie grège non dans leur maison, mais au forum. Dans l'un et l'autre cas, il s'agit de pouvoir surveiller ces ventes, puisqu'elles concernent des métaux précieux ou une marchandise, la soie, qui ne doit pas "être subrepticement cédée à des gens qui en sont interdits d'achat."<sup>18</sup> Au contraire, "ceux qui exercent le métier de cérulaire doivent l'exercer chez eux, dans leurs *ergastèria*, . . . et non faire commerce sur la voie publique dans des locaux qui ne conviennent pas . . . Ceux qui, n'ayant pas leur propre *ergastèrion*, font trafic de leur marchandise soit sur l'agora soit dans les rues, seront conduits devant l'Éparque."<sup>19</sup>

Le système est moins généralisé qu'on pourrait le penser. Ainsi pour le lin. Si les othonioprates, qui revendent les tissus et vêtements de lin fabriqués hors de Constantinople selon une procédure qui rappelle celle en vigueur pour la soie, font le commerce dans leur *ergastèrion*, il n'en va pas de même pour les autres artisans de la filière lin et ceci pour éviter la confusion avec les othonioprates. "Ceux qui, dans la ville, travaillent le lin, n'auront pas la possibilité de l'offrir dans leurs *ergastèria* ou comptoirs (ὄββάκιο), mais ils le porteront sur leur épaule pour le vendre les jours de marché; pareillement ceux qui fabriqueront des serviettes de bain et ceux qui les ont achetées dans les entrepôts (*mitata*) ou les font venir de l'extérieur."<sup>20</sup>

Toute la population du commerce et de l'artisanat est loin d'être constantinopolitaine de façon fixe. La plupart des marchands venus du dehors n'ont pas le droit de rester plus de trois mois, à l'exemple des Syriens qui fournissent les prandioprates en vêtements et autres produits venus de Syrie. Ils n'ont évidemment pas d'*ergastèrion* à Constantinople et doivent faire leur commerce dans les entrepôts officiels (*mitata*).<sup>21</sup> À cet égard, les byzantins de souche ne sont pas mieux

<sup>17</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, II.10, 88.

<sup>18</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, VI.13, 100. Sur les métaxoprates et autres artisans de la soie, cf. en dernier lieu Kaplan, "Du cocon au vêtement de soie," 313-27.

<sup>19</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XI.3, 112.

<sup>20</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, IX.7, 108-10.

<sup>21</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, V, 94-6. On notera qu'il ne s'agit pas uniquement des soieries syriennes, mais de toutes les marchandises issues de cette région alors sous contrôle arabo-musulman.



traités. Ainsi un nommé Euporos, marchand (πραγματευτής) natif de Chios: comme les victimes de hernies, il s'adresse à Artémios à l'occasion d'un séjour dans la ville impériale pour son commerce; au bout de trois mois de vaine incubation, pressé par ses marins mais aussi limité par la réglementation, il doit faire voile sans être guéri, mais reçoit sa guérison en route.<sup>22</sup> De même pour le rhodien Georges. L'épithète de rhodien ne vise pas seulement son origine: Georges détient une propriété dans l'île et se rend dans la capitale avec ses deux enfants, qui résidaient donc habituellement à Rhodes, pour faire soigner sa hernie des testicules; contrairement à Euporos, qui dépend des marins pour partir, il est le capitaine du bateau (ναύκληρος).<sup>23</sup>

Les métiers sont à la fois le reflet et la base de la diversité de Constantinople, tant pour la palette des professions et de la société que pour le paysage urbain de la cité. La palette des métiers s'étend bien au-delà de ce que la réglementation contenue dans les diverses codifications ou dans le *Livre de l'Éparque* nous fait connaître. Si certains métiers qui apparaissent parmi les miraculés d'Artémios, comme les argyroprates ou les chaudronniers, sont connus par la réglementation,<sup>24</sup> d'autres n'y sont pas répertoriés. Parmi les métiers victuailliers, les marchands de vin qui ravitaillent évidemment les cabaretiers,<sup>25</sup> les pâtisseries qui fabriquent des gâteaux<sup>26</sup> ou les marchands de fruits qui exposent les plus beaux produits dans des récipients de verre, dont la boutique s'appelle également *ergastèrion* et auprès de qui André Salos exerce sa gourmandise en dévorant les figues d'un marchand assoupi.<sup>27</sup> Dans les métiers de la fabrication, on notera des tanneurs,<sup>28</sup> des fabricants d'arcs<sup>29</sup> et des constructeurs de bateaux.<sup>30</sup> Ceux-ci avaient

<sup>22</sup> *Miracles d'Artémios*, n° 5, 84. Le marin Isidore connaît exactement le même sort au miracle suivant (n° 6, 88).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, n° 35, 184.

<sup>24</sup> L'argyroprate Akakios (*ibid.*, n° 10, 96) correspond au titre II du *Livre de l'Éparque*, éd. Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, 84-8; au Miracle n° 44, 218, Artémios guérit le chaudronnier (χαλκοτόπος) Georges.

<sup>25</sup> *Miracles d'Artémios*, n° 32, 164.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, n° 43, 218: Artémios guérit un enfant en faisant placer sur la bouche et le testicule malade de son client un "gâteau de pâtisseries" (παστίλλιν πλακου-ταρικόν), ce qui ne nécessite d'ailleurs pas forcément un artisan dont la pâtisserie serait le métier exclusif.

<sup>27</sup> *Vie d'André Salos*, 102. On remarquera que la *Vie* ne donne pas de nom à ce métier mais désigne simplement "ceux qui vendent des fruits" (οἱ πειράσκοντες τὰς ὀπώρας).

<sup>28</sup> *Miracles d'Artémios*, n° 30, 158.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, n° 29, 156.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, n° 27, 152. Théoteknos, ναυπηγός, occupe ses loisirs durant l'incubation

nécessairement recours aux marchands de bois (ξύλοπρατικῆς).<sup>31</sup> Sur le dallage du forum, André Salos se moque des “marchandes” (πρότριαι), celles qui vendent de coûteuses parures.<sup>32</sup>

La belle ordonnance du *Livre de l'Éparque* ne doit pas faire illusion. Même un métier aussi évidemment réglementé, compte tenu de ses rapports au privilège impérial de frappe monétaire, que celui de banquier ou changeur, a ses brebis galeuses. Déjà, le *Livre de l'Éparque* prévoit que les banquiers ou changeurs<sup>33</sup> doivent dénoncer les boursicoteurs (σακκουλάριοι) qui stationnent sur les places et dans les rues;<sup>34</sup> d'ailleurs, ces commerçants ont eux-mêmes tendance à y envoyer leurs subordonnés avec des espèces précieuses ou de la petite monnaie pour en tirer profit.<sup>35</sup> Bref, le travail au noir. De ceci, nous trouvons l'application dès le septième siècle, avec Georges Koulakès, un enfant de neuf ans, déjà lecteur au Prodrôme de l'Oxeia, qu'Artémios va guérir des testicules.<sup>36</sup> Les parents de Georges gagnent leur vie en pratiquant le change de l'or (χρυσοκαταλλακτικὸς πόρος)<sup>37</sup> et l'usure (σημαδαρικὸς πόρος). Le garçon apprend le métier (πραγματεία), qui consiste à utiliser avec exactitude les balances et des poids, ce qui lui donnerait une compétence (τεχνική). Mais il comprend comment ils s'adjugent des gains honteux en truquant les balances, en demandant des intérêts excessifs et distribuant des prêts sur gage (ἐνέχυρος) à des taux insensés.

Certains métiers sont normalement dispersés dans toute la ville: “les épiciers ouvriront des *ergastèria* à travers toute la ville sur les places comme dans les rues, afin que l'on trouve facilement ce qui

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en effectuant des travaux de charpente dans l'église. Il cumule ce travail de construction navale avec celui d'armateur, puisqu'il navigue vers la Gaule sur son bateau dont il répare une avarie en plongeant; Artémios lui apparaît sous la forme d'un nauclère (ναύκληρος).

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., n° 7, 90.

<sup>32</sup> *Vie d'André Salos*, 140. C'est la seule mention du sexe féminin parmi les marchands.

<sup>33</sup> Les membres d'un même corps de métier sont désignés comme banquier (τραπέζιτης) ou changeur (καταλλάκτης) dans Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, III, 88-90; les 6 *capitula* se répartissent exactement 3-3 sur ce plan.

<sup>34</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, III.2, 88; il sont ici désignés comme changeurs.

<sup>35</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, III.6, 100; ils sont ici désignés comme banquiers. On notera l'opposition, bien comprise par Koder contrairement aux éditeurs précédents, entre λογάριον qui désigne les *nomismata* d'or ou *miliarisia* d'argent, pièces en métaux précieux, et νομίων qui désigne la petite monnaie, jadis comptée en *nummi* et au X<sup>e</sup> siècle en *folis* de bronze, souvent appelés oboles. Le *folis* a remplacé la pièce de 40 *nummi*, mais vaut 1/288<sup>e</sup> de *nomisma* alors que les 40 *nummi* valaient 1/180<sup>e</sup> de *solidus*.

<sup>36</sup> *Miracles d'Artémios*, n° 38, 198.

<sup>37</sup> Il s'agit donc bien du métier prévu au titre III du *Livre de l'Éparque*.

est nécessaire à la vie.”<sup>38</sup> Le σαλδαμάριος est donc bien un boutiquier de proximité; d’ailleurs, il vend de tout et ce qui le distingue des autres boutiquiers, c’est précisément qu’il vend des objets à la fois divers et de faible valeur et qualité, alimentation et autres produits de première nécessité. On remarquera l’exacte inversion avec les changeurs, qui ne doivent pas pratiquer sur les places et dans les rues. Les *saldamarioi* ont même le droit de parcourir les rues en se faisant de la réclame (προβολή) en dehors de leur *ergastèrion*, puisque la chose ne leur est interdite que le dimanche et jours fériés.<sup>39</sup>

D’autres semblent avoir une localisation bien précise: les orfèvres ont leurs *ergastèria* sur la Mésè, ce qui désigne peut-être le début de cette artère; les métaxoprates au forum, évidemment de Constantin. À lire la *Vie d’André Salos*, qui est un de leur client les plus assidus, les cabaretiers seraient tous aux Artopoleia, sauf une taverne qui ouvrirait sur l’Antiphoros,<sup>40</sup> ce qui devait se trouver près du forum de Constantin, donc dans le même quartier. Même si la *Vie d’André Salos* attribue à ces artisans, dont la boutique s’appelle *ergastèrion* comme les autres,<sup>41</sup> une importance démesurée, l’on sent bien que les tavernes rythmaient la vie de la cité: les dimanches et jours fériés, ils ne doivent pas ouvrir avant la deuxième du jour et sont tenus de fermer à la deuxième de la nuit “afin d’éviter que, les habitants y passant la journée et, si c’était possible, s’y rendant à nouveau durant la nuit pour s’y emplir de vin, ils n’en viennent à tomber facilement dans les bagarres, violences et autres.”<sup>42</sup> C’est dire ce qui se produit les autres jours. André y rencontre son faire-valoir Épiphane, jeune homme de bonne famille dont il va prévoir le patriarcat; l’endroit est fréquenté par les citoyens ordinaires (πολίται) qui y consomment du vin parfumé.<sup>43</sup> Mais, une autre fois, André entre dans une taverne après s’être procuré des légumes, du pain, des fromages et des fruits, que les marchands voisins lui ont généreusement donnés, pour distribuer cette marchandise aux pauvres qui s’y adonnent à

<sup>38</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XIII.1, 118.

<sup>39</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XIII.3, 119.

<sup>40</sup> *Vie d’André Salos*, 36.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 40. André profite de ce que le καθαροπότης a quitté son *ergastèrion* quelques instants pour léviter.

<sup>42</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XIX.3, 132.

<sup>43</sup> *Vie d’André Salos*, 36. Dans d’autres tavernes, qualifiées de φουσκαρίον, on consomme de la φούσκα, boisson mélangeant vinaigre et eau. Le *Livre de l’Éparchie* ne parle que de vin.

la boisson. On remarquera que les marchands de produits alimentaires sont, comme les *saldamarioi*, des commerçants de proximité, ce qui pose la question des boulangers, compte tenu de l'existence d'un quartier en portant le nom.

D'autres métiers ont une localisation ouvertement diversifiée. C'est le cas des cérulaires. Le *Livre de l'Éparque* régleme la distance qui les sépare l'un de l'autre, sauf ceux de Sainte-Sophie. En effet, à proximité de la Grande Église, la demande est telle que ces boutiques devaient se presser l'une contre l'autre et le quartier s'appeler *Keropoleia*; ailleurs, au contraire, un seul *ergastèrion*, ou un nombre réduit d'*ergastèria*, devait suffire aux besoins des fidèles. Ainsi à proximité de Saint-Jean-Baptiste de l'Oxeia. Un diacre de Sainte-Sophie, nommé Étienne, qui habite le quartier, est malade des testicules et sollicite la cure d'Artémios, en cachette pour ne pas salir la réputation de son glorieux office. Un soir qu'il rentre chez lui, "comme (il) arrivait à la maison appelée *ta Iordanou*, il achète des cierges sans bobèche au cérulaire de l'endroit (τῷ ἐκεῖσε κηρουλαρίῳ)" installé dans la partie orientale des Emboloi (portiques) de Domninos, en face de l'Oxeia; il est évident qu'Étienne est arrivé à proximité de l'église, sans quoi il achèterait ses cierges plus loin—d'ailleurs, en traversant la rue, il glisse dans la boue, tombe et les casse—et que ce cérulaire est situé là parce que le sanctuaire fort couru d'Artémios se trouve à proximité.<sup>44</sup> D'ailleurs, non loin de là, un endroit s'appelle "la boutique aux lampes" (κωνδηλάριον).<sup>45</sup> De la même façon, un quartier s'appelle les Chalcoprateia, mais Artémios envoie un malade atteint d'une hernie se faire soigner auprès d'un *χαλκεύς* installé aux portiques de Domninos, donc à proximité immédiate de Saint-Jean-Baptiste de l'Oxeia.<sup>46</sup> Enfin, le trésorier de l'amicale qui organise la vigile de la saint Jean-Baptiste est "le banquier Abraamios, celui qui est près de l'église" en question.<sup>47</sup>

Ces mêmes récits nous permettent de comprendre quels sont les rapports entre l'artisan et son client. Plusieurs articles du *Livre de*

<sup>44</sup> *Miracles d'Artémios*, n° 21, 126–8.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, n° 34, 180.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, n° 26, 146. On notera au passage que ce forgeron est un provincial immigré de fraîche date: il est coléreux parce que Cilicien. Par ailleurs, un certain nombre de miracles montrent bien qu'Artémios envoie ses clients à proximité, que certains clients, comme le diacre Étienne viennent là en voisin: ce faiseur de miracles serait-il avant tout un saint de proximité?

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, n° 18, 116.

*l'Éparque* dénoncent ceux qui tentent d'augmenter le prix de vente une fois le contrat matérialisé par le versement d'arrhes. Le diacre de Sainte-Sophie Étienne, lui, n'a pu acheter les cierges qu'il voulait, munies de bobèches; le cérulaire de *ta Iordanou* en avait, mais elles étaient réservées pour un client qui les avait déjà payés. Étienne voulait ses cierges tout de suite et il a dû partir avec des objets certes sans bobèche, mais disponibles et moins chers. En chemin, il les casse et perd en même temps la petite monnaie que lui avait rendue l'artisan. Il ramasse soigneusement et les *foleis* et les morceaux de cierge et retourne chez l'artisan. Il donne au cérulaire les débris, le prix du travail pour fabriquer de nouveaux cierges (τὰ ἔργαστρα) et un supplément de prix; il repart avec les cierges à bobèche.<sup>48</sup> On voit ainsi l'artisan travailler à façon à partir de la matière première donnée par le client et toucher la rémunération de son travail.

Autant les maîtres de métier, à la tête de leur *ergastèrion*, sont présents à chaque *capitulum* du *Livre de l'Éparque* et dans les textes hagiographiques, autant les employés sont peu présents. Les esclaves constituent dans une certaine mesure une catégorie bien particulière, que l'on peut trouver à la tête de l'atelier d'un orfèvre ou d'un métaxoprâte.<sup>49</sup> Mais certains esclaves sont visiblement de la main d'œuvre d'appoint au même titre que les apprentis: les cérulaires sont ainsi soupçonnés de faire leur commerce sur la voie publique et non dans leur boutique "par l'intermédiaire de leurs esclaves ou apprentis."<sup>50</sup> Mais on n'en sait guère plus sur l'apprentissage, à la notable exception des notaires, pour qui il s'agit d'un enseignement à la fois théorique et pratique sur plusieurs années.<sup>51</sup> Tout juste le *Livre* dénonce-t-il le savonnier qui, à l'insu de l'Éparque et du *prostatès*, enseigne son métier à une personne qui n'appartient pas au métier,<sup>52</sup> ce qui n'est pas vraiment la définition de l'apprenti.

On n'en sait guère plus sur les salariés. Les deux principaux métiers de la soie, métaxoprates et sérinaires, qui, par leur surface économique, sont sans doute ceux qui sont le plus conduits à utiliser des salariés, bénéficient d'une mesure empêchant de débaucher l'ouvrier du voisin

<sup>48</sup> Ibid., n° 21, 124-8.

<sup>49</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, II.9, 86; VI.7, 98. Nous ne reviendrons pas sur cette question maintes fois débattue des esclaves chefs d'atelier.

<sup>50</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XI.1, 112.

<sup>51</sup> W. Wolska-Conus, "Les termes νομή et παιδοδιδάσκαλος νομικός du 'Livre de l'Éparque'," *TM* 8 (1981), 531-41.

<sup>52</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XXI.1, 116.

aussi longtemps que celui-ci est sous contrat;<sup>53</sup> la durée normale du contrat de travail est de trente jours.<sup>54</sup> Mais il s'agit de métiers à haute qualification. Dans les autres métiers, la tension sur la main d'œuvre était peut-être moins forte, ce qui expliquerait l'absence de clauses sur ce point. Pour autant, les salariés ne sont pas absents: ainsi les banquiers se voient reprocher d'installer dans les rues et sur les places, avec des espèces précieuses ou de la petite monnaie, leurs subordonnés (οἱ ὑπ'αυτοῦς), qui peuvent être aussi bien des esclaves que des apprentis ou des salariés.<sup>55</sup>

À leur tour, les maîtres de métiers peuvent se trouver en sous-ordre. Nous avons traité ailleurs de la place de l'artisanat mis en œuvre par les puissants dans les métiers de la soie: métaxoprates et catartaires, qui se cotisent pour acheter la soie grège arrivant à Constantinople, encourent le soupçon de servir de prête-nom à "un personnage puissant ou riche."<sup>56</sup> Cette situation ne se limite pas à cette matière noble, puisque les charcutiers sont surpris à cacher des cochons dans l'*oikos* d'un archonte.<sup>57</sup> Ces rapports avec les puissants, qui sont les maîtres du sol, nous conduit à nous interroger sur la question de la propriété des *ergastèria* et de leurs loyers, donc sur le niveau de vie des artisans et commerçants.

Le loyer des boutiques est bien l'une des données fondamentales de la réglementation contenue dans le *Livre de l'Éparque*. D'une part, l'interdiction de manœuvrer sur ce point de façon ouverte ou subreptice est la clause la plus fréquente dans l'édit de Léon VI, puisqu'elle est présente dans sept *capitula*.<sup>58</sup> Dans le titre XVIII sur les boulangers, elle se situe même dans un chapitre qui semble bien avoir une valeur générale pour tous les métiers, dépassant la question des loyers pour aborder celle de tentatives pour faire baisser le prix d'une marchandise pour se la procurer au-dessous du juste prix ou pour exercer

<sup>53</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, VI.3, 96; VIII.10, 106.

<sup>54</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, VI.2, 96; VIII.12, 106. C'est une durée maximale, puisqu'il est interdit de payer d'avance plus de 30 jours de salaire. La dureté de la protection indique toutefois que c'était en fait la durée standard.

<sup>55</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, III.6, 90.

<sup>56</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, VI.10, 98; VII.1, 100; cf. Kaplan, "Du cocon au vêtement de soie," 325-7.

<sup>57</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XVI.4, 126.

<sup>58</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, IV.9, 94 (vestioprates); IX.4, 108 (othonioprates); X.3, 112 (parfumeurs); XI.7, 114 (céruleaires); XIII.6, 120 (épiciers); XVIII.5, 130 (boulangers); XIX.2, 130 (cabaretiers).

deux métiers à la fois. C'est donc une préoccupation majeure, qui traduit à l'évidence un souci primordial des artisans par et pour qui le *Livre de l'Éparque* a été rédigé. Or nous avons quelques indications, peu nombreuses sur ce point, dans de trop rares documents de la pratique des dixième-onzième siècles.

Dans sa *diataxis* d'avril 1077, Michel Attaliatè nous dresse un tableau de la fortune qu'il a acquise et qu'il tente de sauvegarder en faveur de son fils, en partie par le biais d'une fondation pieuse dont la *diataxis* constitue à la fois la charte de fondation et le brébion. Fonctionnaire talentueux, mais d'origine modeste, à qui ses parents et ses deux épouses successives ont laissé si peu que rien, Attaliatè, homme prudent et gestionnaire avisé, s'est constitué un portefeuille diversifié: d'abord ses *rogai* de haut fonctionnaire et dignitaire; cinq villages en Thrace, des terrains et des immeubles de rapport près de Raidestos et quelques immeubles en ville notamment à Constantinople, y compris trois *ergastèria*, dont il donne le loyer, soit une boulangerie, louée 24 *nomismata*, une parfumerie, louée 14, et un cabinet de médecin, loué 5 *nomismata*.<sup>59</sup>

On peut comparer ces chiffres avec les *ergastèria* contenus dans un document du dixième siècle publié par N. Oikonomidès,<sup>60</sup> dont nous empruntons les principales conclusions. Certes, ces *ergastèria* ne sont qu'au nombre de cinq et, pour l'un d'entre eux, il est impossible de savoir de quelle activité il s'agit. L'une des boutiques est celle d'othonioprates ou lingers (*Livre de l'Éparque*, titre IX), une autre relève des

<sup>59</sup> Attaliatè, *Diataxis*, éd. P. Gautier, "La diataxis de Michel Attaliatè," *REB* 39 (1981), 17-129; cf. P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle byzantin* (Paris, 1977); M. Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VI<sup>e</sup> au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Propriété et exploitation du sol*, Byzantina Sorbonensia 10 (Paris, 1992). Il est malheureusement difficile de savoir si les dévaluations du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, qui sont quasi à leur paroxysme en 1077 où le *nomisma* a perdu 55% de sa valeur [C. Morrisson, "La dévaluation de la monnaie byzantine au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: essai d'interprétation," *TM* 6 (1976), 3-48, repris dans eadem, *Monnaies et finances à Byzance: analyses, techniques* (Aldershot, 1994), n° IX], peut avoir influé sur les loyers. Comme les baux sont très longs (d'une durée maximale de 29 ans), on peut prendre le risque d'estimer que les loyers n'ont pas suivi. Mais d'un autre côté Attaliatè n'est pas propriétaire depuis très longtemps, puisqu'il a acheté ses biens immeubles avec les bénéfices tirés de ses offices obtenus sur le tard; il progresse encore dans les dignités de façon très rapide autour de la rédaction de la *diataxis*, seule façon de maintenir le pouvoir d'achat des *rogai*; cf. J.-Cl. Cheynet, "Dévaluation des dignités et dévaluation monétaire dans la seconde moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Byz* 53 (1983), 453-77.

<sup>60</sup> N. Oikonomidès, "Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au X<sup>e</sup> s.: prix, loyers, imposition," *DOP* 26 (1972), 345-56, repris dans idem, *Byzantium from the Ninth Century to the Fourth Crusade. Studies, Texts, Monuments* (Aldershot, 1992), n° VIII.

prandioprates (marchands de confections importées de Syrie; *Livre de l'Éparque*, titre V), une autre est vendue par le métaxoprates Élie, seul homme de commerce mentionné, et l'on peut estimer qu'il s'agit d'un *ergastèrion* du métier en question.<sup>61</sup> Une quatrième boutique est liée à des vêtements de poils de chèvre. Le textile est donc largement dominant.

On remarque tout d'abord que les prix de ces différents *ergastèria* se situent dans une fourchette relativement étroite, de 6 à 10 livres d'or, en gros la moitié d'une dignité de protospataire ou d'une charge d'*asèkrètis*, mais six à dix fois la *roga* du protospataire,<sup>62</sup> le tiers ou la moitié de la *roga* du stratège d'un grand thème,<sup>63</sup> les revenus d'un évêché moyen. Bref, l'achat d'un *ergastèrion*, opération à laquelle Attaliate s'est livré trois fois, est fort coûteuse, proportionnée à la fortune et aux revenus d'un membre de l'aristocratie de fonction, avec cet avantage évident que l'*ergastèrion* rapporte chaque année un loyer sans qu'il soit nécessaire d'y réinvestir, que c'est donc un de ces *autourgia* si prisés des aristocrates byzantins. Ajoutons que l'un des acheteurs, Léon Rhodios, s'est offert deux boutiques pour un total de 17,5 livres d'or; c'est une sorte de lot, puisqu'il achète l'une à Jean Hétaireiôtès et l'autre à Eudocie Hétaireiôtissa, qui est soit la sœur soit l'épouse du précédent. Sur les huit familles concernées, un seul boutiquier, le métaxoprates Élie, et cinq dignitaires ou fonctionnaires, donc membres de l'aristocratie de fonction. Il faut rester prudent, mais il est tentant de souligner que les *ergastèria* semblent un investissement privilégié des aristocrates, par ailleurs propriétaires fonciers, et qui en ont les moyens; de plus ils offrent un rendement brut (loyer et impôt) compris entre 5,40 pour cent et 6,10 pour cent et net (impôt déduit) de 4,80 pour cent à 5,40 pour cent, supérieur aux taux maximum du prêt à intérêt autorisé à un dignitaire (4,16 pour cent) et au taux de rendement des terres agricoles (autour de 3 pour cent). Quant à l'impôt dû, il n'atteint jamais 1 pour cent du prix et reste donc inférieur de celui qui frappe les terres agricoles.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 347.

<sup>62</sup> Sur le prix des dignités et le salaire qui y est attaché, cf. P. Lemerle, "Roga' et rente d'État aux X<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles," *REB* 25 (1967), 77-100, repris dans idem, *Le monde de Byzance: Histoire et institutions* (Londres, 1978), n° XV.

<sup>63</sup> Sur les soldes des officiers supérieurs, cf. J.-Cl. Cheynet, E. Malamut, C. Morrisson, "Prix et salaires à Byzance (X<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)," dans *Hommes et richesses dans l'empire byzantin*, II. VIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, éd. V. Kravari, J. Lefort, C. Morrisson, *Réalités byzantines* 3 (Paris, 1991), 339-74, et notamment 367.



Les loyers nets d'impôt s'étagent entre 15 *nomismata* et 38 *nomismata*, ce qui semble cohérent avec ceux qu'encaisse Attaliatè; il est donc légitime de penser que ce dernier a dû déboursier pour acheter sa boulangerie et sa parfumerie des sommes qui se situent dans le même ordre de grandeur que pour la notice du dixième siècle. À titre de comparaison, une exploitation agricole louée selon le contrat de métayage prévu par le *Code Rural* et confirmé encore au début du neuvième siècle par la correspondance d'Ignace le Diacre, rapportait un dixième des grains produits: pour une exploitation de 100 *modioi* en rotation biennale avec un rendement de 3,5 grains récoltés pour un semé, qui fournirait une récolte de 165 *modioi* de grain, le loyer serait de 16,5 *modioi* de blé,<sup>64</sup> soit environ 1 *nomisma* 4 *miliarisia*.<sup>65</sup>

Pour nous résumer, l'achat d'un *ergastèrion* est un achat possible et sans doute souhaitable pour un aristocrate. Qu'en est il pour un artisan? Nous prendrons le seul exemple pour lequel nous pouvons tenter des calculs auxquels nous demanderons que des ordres de grandeur, approchés de très loin: les boulangers, d'autant plus intéressants que Michel Attaliatè nous fournit le loyer d'une boulangerie.

Le *Livre de l'Éparque* encadre très exactement les bénéfices du boulanger: un *kération* pour le bénéfice net et deux *miliarisia* pour les frais.<sup>66</sup> S'il y a un boulanger pour 500 habitants, sans tenir compte des *oikoi* des puissants qui se nourrissent eux-mêmes, et compte tenu que le pain représente environ la moitié de la ration alimentaire d'une population dont les besoins doivent se situer aux alentours de 2 500 calories par jour et par personne, il doit fournir 625 000 calories par jour; si le pain fournit 4 calories par gramme, le blé n'en donne que 3, compte tenu du blutage que nous calculerons sur le pain blanc, consommé prioritairement à Constantinople. Le boulanger

<sup>64</sup> On trouvera l'étude de l'exploitation paysanne byzantine et de sa logique économique dans Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 483-522. Pour les rendements, cf. *ibid.*, 80-4.

<sup>65</sup> Pour le prix des céréales, cf. en dernier lieu Cheynet, Malamut, Morrisson, "Prix et salaires," 356-66. Pour les salaires, cf. *ibid.*, 370-3.

<sup>66</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, XVIII.1, 128: Les boulangers doivent effectuer leurs pesées sur l'ordre de l'Éparque d'après le prix d'achat du blé. Ils achètent le blé correspondant à un *nomisma*; puis ils le font moudre et font lever la pâte en présence du *symponos* avant de calculer leur profit à raison de un *kération* et deux *miliarisia* par *nomisma*, le *kération* comme bénéfice, les deux *miliarisia* pour la nourriture de leurs employés et du bétail qu'ils utilisent à la mouture, pour leur loyer, la chauffe du four et l'éclairage.

doit donc travailler un peu plus de 200 kg de blé par jour, soit, à 12,8 kg par *modios*, seize *modioi* de grain, valant  $1\frac{1}{3}$  *nomisma* au prix courant de 12 *modioi* par *nomisma*. Son bénéfice net sera donc, par jour de  $1\frac{1}{3}$  *kération*, 16 *foleis*. Par chance, il n'y a pas de jour sans nourriture et il faut donc multiplier le revenu quotidien par 365, soit 487,5 *kératia*, à peu près 20 *nomismata*. S'il y a un boulanger pour 1 000 habitants, ce qui paraît peu, le revenu passe à 40 *nomismata*. Si nous prenons une moyenne, 30 *nomismata* par an.

On peut certes critiquer ces calculs; ils surévaluent sans doute la part du pain de froment dans l'alimentation, car le pain de froment n'est pas le seul<sup>67</sup> et bien des céréales sont consommées sans être panifiées,<sup>68</sup> ce qui diminuerait les revenus des boulangers; ils surévaluent le nombre de boulangers. Il me paraît difficilement envisageable, toutefois, qu'un boulanger puisse gagner plus de 50 *nomismata* par an. Dans ces conditions, pour ses frais, qui comportent le bois de chauffe, les impôts, le salaire d'éventuels ouvriers et surtout le loyer, il encaisse un maximum de 200 *nomismata*, mais plus probablement une centaine. Comme il n'y a pas de raison que le *Livre de l'Éparque* ait prévu que les "frais" représentent plus que ce que boulanger dépense vraiment, ce qui lui reste pour vivre et pour épargner, c'est un trentaine de *nomismata*. Si l'on admet qu'il peut en épargner la moitié, ce qui est un grand maximum, et si l'on admet que sa boutique, proportionnellement au loyer de 24 *nomismata*, vaut dans les 720 *nomismata*, il lui faudra dans les cinquante ans d'une économie forcenée pour l'acheter. Nous sommes bien au-delà des marges d'erreur de nos calculs. À la question "le boulanger peut-il acheter sa boulangerie?", la réponse est donc non. En revanche, il a normalement de quoi payer son loyer. Or l'échelle des loyers d'Attaliatè montre bien que les boulangers ne sont pas les artisans les plus malheureux.

Certes, des artisans travaillant sur une matière à plus forte valeur ajoutée, comme la soie grège du métaxopràte Élie, peuvent éventuellement se payer une boutique. Mais ce n'est pas la règle. Les artisans ont normalement de quoi vivre, mais leur rémunération se rapproche plus de l'ouvrier très qualifié que du fonctionnaire ou dignitaire. Bref,

<sup>67</sup> Kaplan, *Les hommes et la terre*, 28.

<sup>68</sup> E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4<sup>e</sup>-7<sup>e</sup> siècles*, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Centre de Recherches Historiques, Civilisations et sociétés 48 (Paris-La Haye, 1977), 36-44.

ils constituent bien cette couche moyenne évoquée par certaines sources, mais ils n'ont pas les moyens, par leur seule fabrication ou commerce, de sortir de leur condition.<sup>69</sup> La distance voulue par l'aristocratie, qui n'a pour les gens de l'agora que le plus profond mépris, et à se limiter aux seuls arguments économiques, a toutes les chances de se maintenir.

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<sup>69</sup> Sur la place qu'occupera cette classe moyenne après encore deux siècles d'expansion de l'économie urbaine, cf. N. Svoronos, "Société et organisation intérieure dans l'Empire byzantin au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: les principaux problèmes," dans *Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, Main Papers* (Londres, 1967), 380-4 et 389, repris dans idem, *Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire byzantin* (Londres, 1973), n° IX.

WOMEN IN THE MARKETPLACE OF CONSTANTINOPLE  
(10TH–14TH CENTURIES)

Angeliki E. Laiou

The artisan, the street hawker, the shopkeeper, the investor, the moneylender—all of the female persuasion. What role did they play in the marketplace and the commercial economy of Constantinople? Was it a minimal, marginal one, as our sources would suggest at first glance? Was it specific in any respect? Did women in the marketplace overcome the barriers of a restrictive ideology, or did they work within the ideological parameters of the society? These are the questions addressed in the following pages.

First, let us revisit briefly the part of the terrain that is already well exploited. The evidence for women's presence in the marketplace, as manufacturers and sellers of cloth, starts with St. John Chrysostom, who had nothing complimentary to say about the women who sold their wares in the market. It was a sordid thing, he wrote, to have women in the marketplace, engaging in trade, but less sordid than for women to be *subintroductae*.<sup>1</sup> After the late antique period, as far as I know, there is very little to no evidence of women in the marketplace of Constantinople, until the time of the publication of the *Book of the Eparch*; but then, we know little of the personnel of the marketplace generally in the late seventh, eighth and ninth centuries.

It is in the tenth century that we begin to have usable evidence of women's presence in the marketplace and the economy of Constantinople—evidence that is sporadic, and qualitatively and quantitatively different in different periods. Thus for the tenth and eleventh centuries it is sparse but with weighty implications; in the late fourteenth century it is more extensive, because of the survival of the Registry of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and the fact that this ecclesiastical body dealt with issues of civil and even commercial law in this period. It is hard to say whether the increase in the documentation

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<sup>1</sup> PG 47, 520.

signals an increase in the economic activity of the women of Constantinople. Certainly, it need not necessarily be the case.

The evidence for the tenth and eleventh centuries, limited though it is, has a certain weight. If I read the *Book of the Eparch* correctly, women dressers of raw silk (*katartarioi*) were members of the guild of *katartarioi*, and they also participated in the lower levels of the silk trade.<sup>2</sup> Now, admittedly, the *katartarioi* were the poorer of the artisans engaged in silk trade, and the silk merchants in question seem not to have been members of a guild. Nevertheless, the formal participation of women in the treatment of silk is established. Nor would the presence of women in guilds be a unique phenomenon in the European Middle Ages. According to David Herlihy, women workers in wool in western Europe were members of guilds, although in the thirteenth century their position became subsidiary, and after 1350 they were excluded from the guilds.<sup>3</sup>

For the eleventh century, the most interesting text is the little treatise of Psellos on the female festival of "Agathe", describing a procession of women cloth-workers—spinners, weavers and wool carders—which took place in Constantinople on 12 May; it undoubtedly formed part of the celebrations, festivities, and dancing that attended the celebration of the founding of Constantinople, on 11 May. Psellos provides a vivid description of the procession, led by older women who were experts in the craft. It ended at a church, where decorations illustrated the art of cloth-making, and where the women made votive offerings. After the ceremony at the church, the women danced, accompanied by a rhythmical song. Psellos, in a typical manner, presents this with his usual condescension toward artisans. But the condescension is primarily a social one, and not directed particularly to women, although certainly the subject lends itself to pithy remarks about the inappropriateness of women in the streets, in the marketplace, celebrating the art of cloth-making. For this was, I believe, a festival of professionals, not one celebrated by women who engaged in the ideologically safe pursuit of making cloth at home for the needs of the household. Rather, the treatise refers to a guild-like group

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<sup>2</sup> Koder, *Eparchenbuch*, VII.2. Cf. A. Laiou, "The Festival of 'Agathe': Comments on the Life of Constantinopolitan Women," in *Byzantium: Tribute to Andreas N. Stratos*, I (Athens, 1986), 118–20.

<sup>3</sup> D. Herlihy, *Opera muliebricia: Women and Work in Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 1990), 95–7, 147–8, 185–91.

with ceremonial and ritual activities which took place in the streets.<sup>4</sup>

The social condescension of the sources merits a little reflection. The women who are visible in the marketplace before the fourteenth century are presented as poor women, and undoubtedly many were: these were the hawkers of vegetables and pickled cabbage, the tavern keepers and innkeepers (a disreputable occupation in the twelfth century as it was earlier), the butchers' wives and cooks made famous by Ptochoprodromos, the lower strata of those engaged in the treatment and sale of silk. Undoubtedly, women of an urban middle class also showed up in the market: witness the example of St. Thomais of Lesbos, an early tenth-century saint whose *vita* was probably written later in that century. Her husband is described as being "of the middle sort;" she herself made cloth and sold it in the marketplace, with which she was so familiar that she even frequented it at night, looking for the poor on whom to lavish her alms.<sup>5</sup> But anyone with aristocratic pretensions would not be seen dead in the marketplace.

In the eleventh century we observe a double ideological bias: an "aristocratic" contempt for the marketplace, and a theoretically gender-based bias against women's activities outside the home which, however, on closer examination seems to affect primarily women of the aristocracy or the aspiring aristocracy.

For one thing, the marketplace is, and was recognized as, the very antithesis of the house, the most public of public places. It was also seen as the place where temptation in various forms was encountered. Well brought up women would not go near the marketplace, nor did they wish to know what went on there, or so their male relatives would have us believe. Psellos' mother, her proud son tells us, "wanted to know nothing, not what was happening in the marketplace, nor in the palace."<sup>6</sup> The conservative aristocrat, Kekaumenos, would not have dreamed of seeing his womenfolk in the marketplace, nor would he have told us if he did. At an earlier time, the sainted Theodora of Thessalonike used to cross the marketplace when she went shopping for the monastery, but sometimes people met her who knew who she was, and they would ask her, "Why do you thus demean

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Laiou, "Festival of 'Agathe'," 111-22.

<sup>5</sup> A. Laiou "Η ιστορία ενός γάμου: 'Ο Βίος της άγιας Θωμαΐδος της Λεσβίας," in *Πρακτικά του Α' Διεθνούς Συμποσίου Η ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ ΖΩΗ ΣΤΟ ΒΥΖΑΝΤΙΟ* (Athens, 1989), 237-51.

<sup>6</sup> K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, V (Venice-Paris, 1876), 5, 24.

your good birth?"<sup>7</sup> This was certainly not a place for well-born women—and our Thomais of Lesbos was not a well-born woman.

The marketplace was also ideologically tainted in other ways, for the activities that went on there were considered to be problematic, at least during some periods of Byzantine history. According to some ideologues, the merchant, in order to carry out his trade, was forced to lie, cheat, and run all sorts of risks; indeed, these were inherent aspects of his profession.<sup>8</sup> The idea has a venerable antiquity, going back to classical Greece, where, as has been demonstrated by a relatively recent study, the retail merchant in particular is someone who lies, who perjures himself, who shouts like a barbarian or an animal, whose very looks are wild, who is the opposite of the orderly, civilized citizen.<sup>9</sup> These very negative views of the merchant and his activities, coming out of the Greek civic world, and overlaid with Christian morality, did not, I believe, last after the sixth century. They did resurface, however, at least to some extent, with the restructuring of urban society and the aristocratization of society, in the eleventh century. The marketplace, then, was considered a low-class place, populated by low-class people. Women in the marketplace were in a triple jeopardy: the two I have already mentioned, and the third is connected with stereotypes about woman's nature and behavior.

For women, the marketplace was seen as particularly inappropriate because of a set of factors that have to do with the fact that the tenor of the activities that went on there conflicts with age-old ideas regarding the proper behavior of women. An ancient prejudice against the loud haggling and calling out of wares and prices was brought home to the inhabitants of Constantinople by the presence, in the Forum of Constantine, of a statue of a pig "which signified the noise of the fair," and a naked stele "which signifies the shamelessness of those who buy and sell."<sup>10</sup> But we know that one of the most commonplace pieces of wisdom regarding women in Byzantium, as in Antiquity, was that "silence is an ornament to a woman." The marketplace certainly was not a place where this female virtue could be exercised. No wonder, then, that the women in Ptochoprodromos'

<sup>7</sup> Arsenii, *Zhitije i podrigi sv. Feodory Solunskoi* (St. Petersburg, 1899), 14.

<sup>8</sup> PG 64, 436.

<sup>9</sup> L. Soverini, "Parole, voce, gesti del commerciante nella Grecia classica," *Annali della scuola normale superiore di Pisa, Classe di lettere e filosofia*, ser. III, vol. 22/3 (Pisa, 1992), 811–33.

<sup>10</sup> Preger, *Scriptores*, II, 206. The *Patria*, as this compilation is known, probably dates from the 10th century: *ibid.*, p. ix.

poems, most of whom, including his own fictitious wife, had some connection with the marketplace, appear as irrepressibly garrulous individuals, loud, coarse, vulgar in word and deed.

The gender-based ideological position regarding the presence of women in the marketplace was, to my mind, anchored on firm socio-economic foundations. There was high value placed on women's work, especially moral value. But of course the work was to be at home, and for the needs of the household. This has venerable precedents: the good woman of Proverbs 31.22, who makes for her husband double-weave cloaks and for herself garments of fine linen, has a Greek counterpart in Xenophon's good housewife, who works all day long and supervises her servants so that she can manage a self-sufficient household internally, as her husband manages it externally. We find these ideas repeated throughout Byzantine history, even as late as the fourteenth century; Solomon's good woman, and Xenophon's too, had a very long life.<sup>11</sup>

In the ideological universe, it was a poor, sad, miserable woman who had to hire herself out on wages—and a very poor husband or father who had to allow this to happen. Why was this so? Undoubtedly it was connected with the preservation of the honor of the lady, but this I will leave out of consideration. More prosaically, it was so because women in Byzantium were carriers of property. In this sense, the Byzantine attitude to labor outside the home is unexceptional, for we can encounter it in many other societies.

Anthropologists have taught us that societies in which women marry with a dowry, i.e. where property of one form or another goes from the woman's family to her husband, are distinguished from societies where marriage is made with the payment of a bride-price or bride-wealth, i.e. where there is transfer of property from the husband to the woman's natal family. In societies where the dowry system predominates, as among the upper castes in North India for example, the husband has a clear obligation to support the wife and children. Of course, anthropologists also note that this does not apply to the poorer strata of society, where women do engage in agricultural and craft activities.<sup>12</sup> In Byzantium, too, a woman who had to

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<sup>11</sup> See, for example, Psellos in Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, V, 9–10; E. Miller, ed., *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, II (Paris, 1857), no. 131: Ἐπιτάφιοι εἰς γυναῖκα σώφρονα.

<sup>12</sup> S. J. Tambiah, "Bridewealth and Dowry Revisited: The Position of Women in Sub-Saharan Africa and North India," *Current Anthropology* 30 (1989), 416 ff. and 416 n. 4.



work after her marriage, in work other than the sanctioned work for the household, who had in some way to provide for herself, was a woman who had made a failed marriage. There is dishonor for her natal family, which did not arrange matters well for her, and dishonor for her husband, who could not carry out the promise of caring for her.

A woman, therefore, should not work for an economic purpose, if I may put it this way, for her family has already endowed her with the means not to do so. It is, one readily understands, an ideological construct which cannot in reality affect the majority of women, for the households were few that could provide a sufficient dowry (and man's marriage portion) to conform to it. In practice, the implementation of this ideal was directly related to the social class and economic condition of the individual woman.

Interestingly, in this ideological construct, the external economic relations of women included an important component of expenditure outside the marketplace. Money should be given away in charitable gifts. The most powerful example from Constantinople is the story of St. Thomais of Lesbos, our artisan saint, who spent her own money, and, according to her husband, the household resources as well, on charity. I have the strong impression that charity, a virtue for everyone, was a specific virtue for women. One can see that most clearly in saints' lives, especially of the tenth century and after; harsh asceticism being available to only a few women as an avenue to sainthood, charity takes pride of place. We can also see it in the ideal of the good woman propounded by Psellos and others in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Here, too, charity is the primary virtue in social and economic relations. Thus, women were carriers of the Christian ideological burden of investing in ventures which brought rewards in heaven rather than on earth.

Women were also carriers of the ideological burden of self-sufficiency, as we have seen already. Here, the dowry system played an important role. Landed possessions given in dowry could not, in theory, be alienated, except in times of intense hardship for the household. Movable goods could be alienated, but had to be restored; even in the first years of the fifteenth century the principle was affirmed that dowry goods had to be invested in risk-free enterprises.<sup>13</sup> Thus, one

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<sup>13</sup> MM II, 550 (November 1401).

might suppose that investment of dowry goods in trade was generally limited at normal times—a statement that must be mitigated by the fact that dowry goods were, despite the prohibitions, invested, a fact that we know from several periods, specifically the eleventh, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and also by the fact that dowry property could and did include shops, and that women also owned other types of property, free of encumbrances. It is possible, for example, that the shop sold by Eudokia Hetairiotissa in the tenth century was not dowry property.<sup>14</sup> To the extent that the law was followed, the dowry is the institutional expression of the search for self-sufficiency: women's property is the stable part of the household property, and thus women's ideological role is firmly rooted in the economic behavior of women's property.

As always, ideology was only partly reflected in reality. The ideal of self-sufficiency was often expressed, but rarely achieved, and the profit motive, although ideologically less soothing, was strong indeed, probably at all times, certainly in the tenth century and after.

The interplay of various ideological positions and realities suggests the following observation. Women of the lower and middle economic and social strata and their capital functioned in the marketplace as owners/operators of small retail shops, or as traders in retail trade. As is the case with the men of the same class, their presence in the sources is limited and incidental. Women of the aristocracy might own commercial property; as managers of the household, they probably knew a great deal about the operation of the market, but they were not physically present in the marketplace.

An interesting question would be that of women as consumers. To my knowledge, it has not been posed. But women were the household managers, and they had a certain degree of liquidity; there is some evidence that they shopped in the marketplace. The *Book of the Eparch* shows them also in the marketplace, offering to sell to the *argyropratai* gold or silver objects, pearls or precious stones. Was this for the purposes of consumption (that is, the result of hardship), or because they invested relatively liquid capital? The question is impossible to answer in the current state of knowledge, but the whole issue begs to be investigated.

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<sup>14</sup> N. Oikonomides, "Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au X<sup>e</sup> s.: prix, loyers, imposition (*cod. Patmiacus* 171)," *DOP* 26 (1972), 345.

Is an evolution discernible in the role of women in the marketplace or in the urban economy of Constantinople? Our limited information forces us to say that it is discernible only extremely dimly, and for the most part with regard to textiles. We have seen that our documentation shows a certain participation of women in organized textile production in the tenth and eleventh centuries. For the twelfth century, I have no knowledge of any relevant information outside Thebes. It is possible that in the late Middle Ages the general decline in the Byzantine silk industry, where we have seen women in a market environment, also affected adversely female labor in that industry. The manufacturing of woolen cloth was always a household production, and women's role in it may have been unaffected. As for the participation of women in the commerce of Constantinople, again there is little we can say about its evolution. Women are certainly more evident in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, at a time when there was more commercial activity generally, as well as a certain détente in mores. At the same time, one must entertain seriously the idea that rising wealth among the trading population in the eleventh century also took a number of women out of circulation: had she lived in the tenth century, Psellos' mother might well have sold cloth in the marketplace she shunned in the eleventh century.

The involvement of women in the marketplace of Constantinople becomes much more visible at the end of the fourteenth century, when the well known hardships, combined with trading opportunities, released a certain amount of female capital and female economic energy. We then find women as shopkeepers, sometimes with partners, and as investors in the long-distance trade. Thus, we arrive at the question of women's credit and its particularities.

It has been remarked for western Europe that, unlike other economic activities where, in the Middle Ages, there was gender differentiation, both men and women participated in credit operations.<sup>15</sup> The role of women can be specified to some extent. They participated very actively in pawning and small, short-term loans which carried a high interest rate. It is important to note the existence of female networks, with women borrowing from women. The female creditors were not professional moneylenders, but tradespeople—alewives or other tradeswomen who also accepted pawns, including articles of female apparel.

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<sup>15</sup> W. C. Jordan, *Women and Credit in Pre-industrial and Developing Societies* (Philadelphia, 1993).

As far as productive loans are concerned, still in western Europe, there are some gender specificities. Widows appear frequently as moneylenders, but some married women also loaned money. Depending on the society in which they lived, they made their investments in different activities. In England, with its agrarian economy, women invested mostly in agricultural production and mortgages, and it seems that they were heavy investors: that is, more of their assets were engaged in loans than was the case with men. In the maritime cities of Italy, on the other hand, women invested both in trade ventures, that is, in risky activities, and in the public debt, which promised a lower but surer return on their capital.

In the Byzantine Empire, as is well known, interest-bearing loans did not bring upon the creditor the same kind of opprobrium as in western Europe, for interest was legal. So whatever particularities depended on the legal difficulties of giving credit were inexistent in Byzantium. The question is, whether women had available capital, the right and the opportunity to use it, and whether they had a risk-taking mentality. Here, as in so many other matters, we suffer from a paucity of sources, except for specific periods, distant from each other in time and locality.

Outside of Constantinople, in fourth and fifth-century Egypt, and again in Venetian Crete of the fourteenth century, for which we have sources, the small, consumer loan patterns of western Europe hold very well. For the middle Byzantine period, we have no sources regarding consumer loans made by women; indeed, we possess very little evidence of the realities of consumer loans generally. We do have evidence for the late fourteenth century, and we find, again, in Constantinople this time, some confirmation of the patterns observed in parts of western Europe. We find female networks which extend to family members. Thus, there is the example of a consumer loan in 1365, at a time of crisis, when a woman pawns a sword to a female relative, perhaps in order to help her husband or her family while the husband is at war.<sup>16</sup>

Productive loans are more evident. In the tenth century, Byzantine law registers anew a provision of sixth-century legislation, that if a woman appoints a ship captain—that is, if she invests in a ship—she bears responsibility for his transactions. The same applies to the

<sup>16</sup> J. Sakkélion, “Συνοδικαὶ διαγνώσεις τῆς ἰδ’ ἑκατονταετηρίδος,” *Δελτίον τῆς ἱστ. καὶ ἔθν. ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 3 (1889), 274.

transactions of a shop in which she has appointed a supervisor. Both cases constitute an exception to the general principle that a woman cannot in law be responsible for the transactions of a third party; these transactions are deemed to be her own, not those of another.<sup>17</sup> What this suggests is that women were investing in sea-borne trade and in trade in shops, and they took the risk of the transactions. How frequently they did that in the period before the fourteenth century is not known, as I have already indicated.

We find some interesting cases in late fourteenth-century Constantinople. Women own, invest in and operate workshops: a perfume shop, a dairy shop, taverns, etc. A woman operates a clothier's shop in partnership with her children.

The following examples exhibit what may well be more general patterns. A widow owns a dairy shop. She takes in her orphaned god-children and creates a partnership (*syntrophia*) with her god-son: she contributes the capital, he the labor, at a half share of the profits. Did the woman inherit her husband's shop? Possibly, but not necessarily. In any case, she continues to invest and makes shrewd deals. Her partner is not an outsider, but someone with whom she has family connections.<sup>18</sup>

A woman lends her son 36 *hyperpyra* to invest in trade. When he loses the money and has to sell a house he had inherited, she buys the house from him and forgives him part of the loan. It is clear that the woman had disposable capital and invested it in a risky enterprise; the family connection is apparent in this case as well.<sup>19</sup>

Around the year 1400, when Constantinople was blockaded by the Ottomans, which is to say in very hard times, women seem to come into their own. A member of the aristocracy, a widow named Theodora Palaiologina, had invested in commerce and loans. She had also invested her daughter's future dowry in these enterprises. She offered to provide for the spouses for one year and then to deliver the dowry. The story then becomes very interesting: this lady and her daughter's mother-in-law, another Theodora (Trichadaina), had together borrowed money, mortgaging the dowry of Palaiologina's daughter in order to loan to—that is, to invest with—John Goudeles, a relative by marriage of Trichadaina, who was to use the money

<sup>17</sup> Bas. 53.185 = *Cod. Just.* IV.25.4.

<sup>18</sup> MM II, 474–5 (*sine anno*).

<sup>19</sup> MM II, 386–7 (May 1400).

in his trading ventures. Then, the two women fell out. First they fought about whether the profit from the venture should go to Palaiologina or the young spouses; then, after the venture had proved to be a loss, they quarrelled about who would shoulder the risk.<sup>20</sup>

As in western Europe, widows were particularly active in such transactions. In the last-mentioned case, they had the administration of the property of their children and felt free to invest it. The dowry here functions as a form of liquid capital: it can be invested, and the two mothers agree that it must be invested. The dowry goods are pawned. The money thus acquired is given out at risk, although in theory it should not be. The two mothers combine forces, for they both agree to the investment. The investment is made within the family. Legally, the dowry is protected property, so even after the loss as much of the original property must be reconstituted as possible.

We note here that in fourteenth-century Constantinople women invested even dowry goods in trade. In a rural environment, as in thirteenth-century Epiros, for which we also have some information, most such investments would be in land. In Constantinople, too, women took their cases to court themselves, not through a male relative, as was done in thirteenth-century Epiros, which is another indication of a certain autonomy of action.<sup>21</sup>

In this particular period and place, widows are very much in evidence. The reasons are obvious. Upon the death of the husband, the widow receives the administration of dowry and marriage goods, which during the marriage were in theory administered by the husband. The widow then can do all sorts of things with the property. Many aristocratic women have liquidity and assets, including land and shares in shops. They lend money within the family for productive use, whether trade or manufacturing. Family networks are important. Widows may also have the administration of dowry and marriage portions of unmarried minor children, and sometimes of married ones as well, and act in their name. Because of hardship, there is pressure on available capital, and they lend—even though dowry goods are protected. Because they are protected they receive precedence over all other debts; therefore, women are in a privileged position as creditors. The borrower is in an unfavorable position when he or she borrows dowry goods. To the extent that dowry

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<sup>20</sup> MM II, 399–400, 511, 550 (June 1400–November 1401).

<sup>21</sup> E.g., MM II, 386–7, 367–8, 368–9, etc.

goods are protected, even in these harsh times, the profit of the enterprise of the debtor is reduced, for the capital is borrowed under some institutional constraints.

The protection of dowry property can mean that the goods may be recycled, that is, they may be invested several times over. Dowry property can be lent out, but it has precedence over other debts or is under protection, which means that part or all of it is returned to the creditor even when other capital is not,<sup>22</sup> and can then be lent out again.

One may suggest that women's capital becomes more important in adverse circumstances or when there is increased demand for capital. Women were quite wily and shrewd in the administration of property and the loans they made. At the same time, family connections seem paramount, which would indicate that women more than men played their role of investor or lender within the framework of the extended or the narrow family.

We thus return to the family, and the role of the woman in it. Ideology, as well as family pressures, may have played some role in keeping part at least of female investment within the family. One also has to assume an underlying network of associations that was important in economic transactions and which, for women, was closely bound with the family.

What can we conclude about women in the marketplace of Constantinople? We have seen them, at different times, as street hawkers, bakers, owners of shops, tavern keepers, textile workers, investors, rentier landlords;<sup>23</sup> we have surmised them as consumers. So they were there, throughout the period under examination, active in the marketplace, ideological constraints notwithstanding. Most evident in our sources are the poorer women, and that is entirely understandable, for it was mostly they who had to be in the marketplace. The aristocratic woman who invested in its activities without being physically present is dimly visible, though the dimness lifts at the end of the fourteenth century. We find a close connection between women's activities in the marketplace and the institution of the family, at least in some operations and in some ways: in the fact that shops owned by women were sometimes dowry property, but also in the fact that

<sup>22</sup> E.g., MM I, 279 ff.

<sup>23</sup> Like the *sklavimikarion ergasterion* bought by Sophia, *patrikia*, for 6.5 lbs of gold: Oikonomides, "Boutiques," 346.

shops were manned by family members, that loans and investments were made within the family network, and that networks among women tended to be among relatives as well. In this *highly* nuanced sense, the family and the home were very much at the center of women's economic activities, even when these activities took place in or in connection with the marketplace of Constantinople.





SECTION SEVEN

LATINS IN CONSTANTINOPLE AFTER 1204



## CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

### THE URBAN EVOLUTION OF LATIN CONSTANTINOPLE (1204–1261)

David Jacoby

The fifty-seven years of Latin rule over Constantinople are commonly viewed as a period of overall urban decline, arrested only by the Byzantine recovery of 1261.<sup>1</sup> This sweeping generalization, however, does not withstand a critical examination of the relevant evidence. To be sure, the city suffered extensive damage and the loss of many of its treasures in 1203 and in the first months of 1204, yet this turbulent period should not be confused with the years of Latin rule that followed. Most medieval authors describing Constantinople in the years 1203–1261 dealt with the former rather than with the latter. Moreover, they were not interested in the extent of urban continuity, but rather in the disruption of urban life. Byzantine authors in particular, imbued with an anti-Latin bias exacerbated by the loss of their capital in 1204, wished to convey a picture of destruction and desolation caused by the Latins, which they contrasted with the benefits and splendor of the previous period and especially those generated by imperial restoration after 1261. Thus, according to Nikephoros Gregoras, Latin Constantinople was desolate, with houses razed to the ground and only few buildings surviving. It had received no care from the Latins except destruction. The task facing the emperor was to cleanse the city, transform its great disorder into good order, and fill the emptied houses with people.<sup>2</sup>

A more balanced approach requires a thorough examination of western documentary sources, which more faithfully than literary writings reflect the urban evolution of Latin Constantinople. These sources are fragmentary, though more abundant than generally assumed, yet

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<sup>1</sup> Recent studies: T. F. Madden, "The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203–1204: A Damage Assessment," *BZ* 84/85 (1991–92), 72–93; A.-M. Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," *DOP* 47 (1993), 243–61; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*.

<sup>2</sup> Gregoras, I, 87.23–88.16.

to date they have been largely overlooked.<sup>3</sup> In addition, several important factors should be taken into account. Various demographic, economic, political and military developments affected the entire city in the Latin period, yet not everywhere in the same manner nor to the same extent. Constantinople was divided then between the Latin emperors and Venice, which held three-eighths of the urban space.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, some urban districts had particular features and functions, different from those of others. And, finally, the respective fate of private, ecclesiastical, imperial and public structures varied. Unfortunately, while most Venetian documents provide information about private buildings located in the enlarged Venetian quarter, Byzantine sources refer primarily to the other categories of structures, especially prestigious ones, and focus on the imperial sector of the city.

The suburb of Galata or Pera to the north of the Golden Horn was the first area of Constantinople to suffer from destruction. The dense Jewish neighborhood, located on the slope facing the walled city, close to the Galata tower, was consumed by fire early in July 1203. Contemporary sources emphasize the destruction of Jewish houses, yet we may safely assume that many structures of their Greek neighbors were also lost.<sup>5</sup> Several large fires swept through Constantinople proper. The north-western section of the city was damaged on 17–18 July 1203, yet various buildings in the residential area of Petrion survived.<sup>6</sup> Around or probably on 18 August 1203, the premises of Pisan and Amalfitan settlers located between the Golden Horn and the northern city wall were destroyed by the urban mob.<sup>7</sup> On 19 August, some Latins crossed the Golden Horn and attacked the

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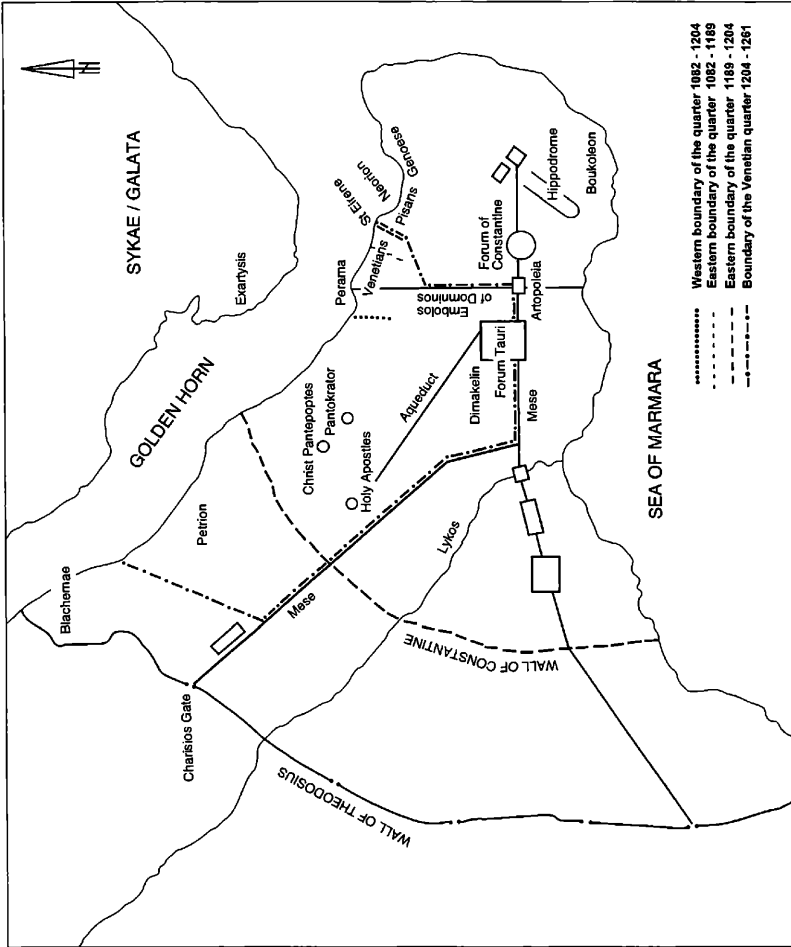
<sup>3</sup> The unpublished documents cited below are preserved at the Archivio di Stato in Venice; Mensa Patriarcale is a section of the latter (hereafter respectively ASV and MP). Ch. Maltezos, "Il quartiere veneziano di Costantinopoli (Scali marittimi)," *Thesaurismata* 15 (1978), 30–61, quotes excerpts from several documents. For the sake of convenience, I refer to their respective number in that study, yet base my arguments on their full text.

<sup>4</sup> D. Jacoby, "The Venetian Quarter of Constantinople from 1082 to 1261: Topographical Considerations," in *Novum Millenium*, eds. C. Sode and S. A. Takács (Aldershot, in press), 179–90, and see below, map.

<sup>5</sup> D. Jacoby, "The Jewish Community of Constantinople from the Komnenian to the Palaiologan Period," *IV* 55/2 (1998), 31–2, and see below, map.

<sup>6</sup> Madden, "Fires," 73–4, 93 (map). On residences in that area, see Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 185.

<sup>7</sup> Nik. Chon., I, 552.77–90. On the Amalfitan premises within the Pisan quarter, see Magdalino, *CP médiévale*, 85–8.



Constantinople and its Venetian quarter, 1082-1261 (conjectural reconstruction)

Muslim *mitaton* located close to the church of St. Irene, which stood between the Pisan and the Venetian quarters. While retreating, they set fire to several buildings in the vicinity. For two days and two nights the blaze spread eastward and southward through the most populous regions of Constantinople, in which crafts and local trade were also concentrated.<sup>8</sup> The last fire ignited by the crusaders extended on 12–13 April 1204 along a section of the Golden Horn from a place to the east of the monastery of Christ Evergetes to the Droungarios, stopping at the western edge of the Venetian quarter which was thus entirely preserved.<sup>9</sup> The sieges, the fighting, the fires and the Latin sack soon after the conquest inflicted severe material damage upon extensive sections of Constantinople, yet most of the urban territory was spared, especially areas with low population density.<sup>10</sup> The events of 1203–1204 also caused a massive exodus of Greek population. The contraction of the urban economy contributed to the continuation of this outward flow in the following years, though on a smaller scale. These demographic losses were not compensated by the fairly low rate of Latin immigration that began in 1204.<sup>11</sup>

Timber was the most common building material used in Constantinople and accounts for the rapid spreading of fires over large areas in 1203–1204.<sup>12</sup> Private structures in stone were clearly in minority, which explains why the documents referring to them specify their nature.<sup>13</sup> Stone was limited to rich mansions, high-rise buildings,

<sup>8</sup> Nik. Chon., I, 553–4; Madden, “Fires,” 74–84, yet on St. Irene and its location, see Jacoby, “Venetian Quarter,” 176.

<sup>9</sup> Nik. Chon., I, 570.33–35, refers to the Droungarios or Vigla, which bordered the Venetian quarter to the west: R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1964), 322–3. He does not mention the Droungarios gate, as indicated by Madden, “Fires,” 85. The latter was already included within the Venetian quarter: Jacoby, “Venetian Quarter,” 173, 181. On Madden’s map (p. 93) the area affected by the last two fires covers the Venetian quarter, which is clearly incorrect.

<sup>10</sup> Madden, “Fires,” 88–9, 93 (map).

<sup>11</sup> This subject will be treated in a forthcoming study.

<sup>12</sup> D. Jacoby, “La population de Constantinople à l’époque byzantine: un problème de démographie urbaine,” *Byz* 31 (1961), 101–2, repr. in idem, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine* (London, 1975), no. I.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., R. Morozzo della Rocca—A. Lombardo, eds., *Documenti del commercio veneziano nei secoli XI–XIII*, II (Torino, 1940), 199, no. 661 (1232); D. Jacoby, “Venetian Settlers in Latin Constantinople (1204–1261): Rich or Poor?,” in *Πλουσιοι και φτωχοι στην κοινωνια της ελληνολατινικης Ανατολης* (= *Ricchi e poveri nella società dell’Oriente grecolatino*), ed. Ch. A. Maltezou, Biblioteca dell’Istituto ellenico di Studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia 19 (Venice, 1998), 183.

some warehouses,<sup>14</sup> churches, monasteries, imperial palaces, as well as to public structures such as markets, porticoes, columns in cisterns, some wharves,<sup>15</sup> and the city walls. It is likely that the spacious three-story house of Niketas Choniates located in the vicinity of Hagia Sophia, destroyed in 1203, was built of stone.<sup>16</sup> Private structures in timber and stone stood side by side, though often separated by open space, as illustrated by documents describing property in the Venetian quarter in the Latin period.<sup>17</sup> A large number of stately mansions survived after the Latin conquest. Robert of Cléry accused high-ranking crusaders of having grabbed the most beautiful ones, without regard for their lower ranking companions. Many structures remained empty after the seizure of property by individual crusaders and Venice at that time.<sup>18</sup> It is unlikely, therefore, that damaged private structures were repaired, unless situated in an area enjoying favorable conditions or else built in stone and requiring marginal restoration only. The condition of deserted structures deteriorated over time, either as a result of neglect or because they were despoiled of building materials reused elsewhere. Wood was also torn down from abandoned houses for fire, as during the Byzantine siege of Constantinople in 1250.<sup>19</sup> Surprisingly, though, there was some building activity for private purposes, the nature of which will soon be examined.

The extent of ongoing destruction, preservation or urban development in the city's sections that survived after the events of 1203–1204

<sup>14</sup> ASV, MP, b. 9, cc. 25 and 29 = Maltezu, "Quartiere," nos. 38 and 42: respectively a warehouse beneath a tower and two contiguous *voltas petrineas*.

<sup>15</sup> L. Lanfranchi, ed., *S. Giorgio Maggiore*, Fonti per la Storia di Venezia, Sez. II: Archivi ecclesiastici, III (Venice, 1967–74), 232–3, no. 455: *scala petrina Sancti Nicolai* (May 1185). On wooden jetties, see Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 173 and n. 8.

<sup>16</sup> Niketas Choniates, *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, CFHB 3 (Berlin-New York, 1972), no. 15, 166.25–27; Nik. Chon., I, 587.1–6. For the location of Sphorakiou, see Janin, *Constantinople*, 428–9. On other houses two and three stories high, also destroyed in 1203, see "Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes," ed. A. Heisenberg, in "Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion, I," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-philol. und hist. Klasse, Abhandlungen, 1922, No. 5 (Munich, 1923), 46.5–6, repr. in idem, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* (London, 1973), no. II/1.

<sup>17</sup> G. L. Fr. Tafel—G. M. Thomas, eds., *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, II (Vienna, 1856–57), 4–8, 43–5 (hereafter TTh); ASV, MP, b. 9, c. 29, partially edited by Maltezu, "Quartiere," no. 42.

<sup>18</sup> Robert de Clari, *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. Ph. Lauer (Paris, 1956), 80, §80.  
<sup>19</sup> Gregoras, I, 81.8–11, refers to stately houses to emphasize the extent of Latin misdeeds.



varied widely. It was largely determined by the developments of these years, mentioned earlier, which generated a new distribution of population and economic activity within the urban space. The remaining inhabitants who had lost their premises, those eager to improve their lot, and new settlers established themselves in the depopulated areas least affected by destruction. The Jews surviving the blaze of July 1203 in their neighborhood of Galata moved to Constantinople proper, where they are attested two or three years later. It is unclear, however, whether they immediately settled in the area of Vlanga, spared by the fires, where they are found during the reign of Michael VIII. Most Greeks from Galata must have also resettled in Constantinople proper, although some of them may have found refuge elsewhere. In any event, most former residents of Galata did apparently not return to the suburb, which was still sparsely populated in 1267, a situation that facilitated its partial grant by Michael VIII to Génoa in that year.<sup>20</sup> Venice's full political authority over its own section of the city enabled it to control the process of resettlement of former residents and the establishment of new ones in that area.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, Venice confirmed or extended earlier concessions of property within the boundaries of its pre-1204 quarter, as to the patriarchate of Grado in February 1207 and to the monastery of S. Tommaso dei Borgognoni di Torcello in 1212,<sup>22</sup> while making additional grants in its newly annexed territory to individuals and to various Venetian monasteries.<sup>23</sup> In turn, these institutions, such as the patriarchate of Grado, confirmed or renewed existing leases and concluded new ones with individuals renting their property.<sup>24</sup> We have little information about developments in the imperial sector of the city soon after the conquest, except that non-Venetian crusaders seized the dwellings they coveted, regardless of whether they were abandoned or still inhabited, in which case they compelled their residents to leave.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Jacoby, "Jewish Community of CP," 36–40.

<sup>21</sup> On this authority, see D. Jacoby, "The Venetian Presence in the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261): The Challenge of Feudalism and the Byzantine Inheritance," *JÖB* 43 (1993), 152–7.

<sup>22</sup> TTh, II, 4–8, with wrong dating, and F. Cornelius (Cornaro), ed., *Ecclesiae Torcellanae antiquis monumentis, nunc primum editis, illustratae*, I (Venice, 1749), 220–1; for locations, see Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 178 and 181 respectively.

<sup>23</sup> Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 185–7, 189.

<sup>24</sup> See previous note; also ASV, MP, b. 9, c. 11; TTh, II, 43–5, 52–4: in 1206 and 1207, leases for 29 years.

<sup>25</sup> See above, note 18, and Nik. Chon., I, 588.21–33.

In the twelfth century, Latins and Greeks involved in economic activities linked to maritime trade concentrated mainly in the area extending along the Golden Horn.<sup>26</sup> This was also the case in the Latin period, but the events of 1203–1204 resulted in some important developments in that urban area. The Genoese quarter did not suffer from fires or fighting,<sup>27</sup> yet it would seem that the tense relations between Genoa and Venice, the dominant maritime power in Latin Constantinople, prevented the return of that quarter's former residents and severely restricted economic activity within its boundaries. In any event, it ceased to be an autonomous area, despite four agreements concluded from 1218 to 1251 between Genoa and Venice. Genoese trade in Constantinople appears to have been resumed only after the treaty of 1232, and while there may have been some Genoese settlers before 1261, these were dispersed throughout the city.<sup>28</sup> The autonomous Pisan quarter survived after the conquest.<sup>29</sup> Yet the heavy damage it had suffered in August 1203 must have severely limited the resettlement of its former residents, prevented any later population growth, and restricted its economic activity. These conditions presumably account for the residence of some Pisans in the Venetian quarter, such as Giovanni Boiardo before 1240,<sup>30</sup> and may have contributed to a diminishing Pisan presence in Constantinople in the Latin period. Nevertheless, in 1261 most Pisans resided within their own national quarter.<sup>31</sup> The decline of the Genoese and Pisan quarters after 1204 were among the factors that generated a shift in favor of Venice's ancient quarter, which became the hub of economic activity and apparently one of the most densely occupied areas of Constantinople.

Private construction is well attested in the Venetian quarter before 1204, especially in the narrow section between the northern city wall and the shore of the Golden Horn. This area was covered by a growing number of dwellings, warehouses, workshops, shops and

<sup>26</sup> On Greeks residing in the Venetian quarter both before and shortly after the conquest, see above, note 24; for later years in the Latin period, see Jacoby, "Venetian Settlers," 191 n. 47, 193.

<sup>27</sup> Location in M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XII<sup>e</sup>-début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, I (Rome-Genoa, 1978), 179–82.

<sup>28</sup> Jacoby, "Venetian Settlers," 198–9; Pachym., ed. Failler, I, 221.4–10.

<sup>29</sup> S. Borsari, "I rapporti tra Pisa e gli stati di Romania nel Duecento," *Rivista Storica Italiana* 67 (1955), 477–81, 483–6; Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 180.

<sup>30</sup> ASV, MP, b. 9, c. 29 = Maltezos, "Quartiere," no. 42.

<sup>31</sup> Pachym., as above, note 28.

taverns.<sup>32</sup> Leaseholders often built at their own expense on the land they rented from Venetian ecclesiastical institutions. Such investments were beneficial both to the tenants, who either used or rented out their structures, and to the landlords, who became the owners of these buildings if the leases were not renewed.<sup>33</sup> Notarial documents attest construction under similar terms in the ancient Venetian quarter in the Latin period. Thus, in 1236 a lessee was authorized to build dwellings, other structures and workshops, while contracts of 1240 and 1241 mention existing buildings constructed during the previous leases, hence well within the Latin period. In 1252 a structure added on the roof of an existing building was sold to a tailor.<sup>34</sup> It would seem that only timber was used, since both the material and the construction work required relatively small investments. It is doubtful that any sizeable activity of that nature took place in the newly annexed section of the Venetian quarter or elsewhere in Constantinople.

The enlargement of the Venetian quarter in 1204 led to a broader diffusion of Venetians within the city. Some of them obtained from their Commune abandoned, well-preserved mansions situated in lower density urban regions, even if these were quite distant from the area of the Golden Horn in which they conducted their business. In 1252 Pietro Querini sold to his brother Nicolò a *palacium* or large mansion, as well as an adjacent plot of land and a field which their father had apparently obtained when he settled in Constantinople shortly after the conquest. All these pieces of property were located south of the Valens aqueduct, close to the Forum Tauri or modern Beyazit square.<sup>35</sup> Ramundo Bello resided in 1239 in a multi-storied stone house flanked by a courtyard, a garden and a vineyard, also in the new portion of the Venetian quarter, while holding extensive property in the ancient section of that quarter.<sup>36</sup> We may safely assume that other affluent Venetians and some Tuscans engaging in trade and large-scale credit operations enjoyed similar conditions.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 173, 181.

<sup>33</sup> Ch. A. Maltezos, "Les Italiens propriétaires 'terrarum et casarum' à Byzance," *BF* 22 (1966), 182-4, 189.

<sup>34</sup> See above, note 24, and ASV, MP, b. 9, cc. 26, 31, 27 and 33.

<sup>35</sup> Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 187-9, and see Dimakelin on map, above. As in modern Italian, 13th-century *palacium* pointed to a large building several stories high.

<sup>36</sup> ASV, MP, b. 9, c. 29 = Maltezos, "Quartiere," no. 42, of April 1240, some time after the owner's death. See also Jacoby, "Venetian Settlers," 197.

<sup>37</sup> On their activity, see Jacoby, "Venetian Settlers," 196-203.

The state of ecclesiastical buildings in Latin Constantinople depended upon factors other than those affecting private ones. It is impossible to determine precisely how many Greek institutions were destroyed by the fires of 1203–1204, abandoned later or taken over by the Latins until 1261.<sup>38</sup> In any event, the economic condition of most urban churches and monasteries, whether in Greek or Latin hands, deteriorated substantially as a result of the conquest. Many of them were deprived of the revenue previously accruing from their widely scattered provincial estates,<sup>39</sup> either because these were situated after 1204 in Byzantine territory or had been confiscated by Latin lords, as agreed between the crusader leaders and Doge Enrico Dandolo.<sup>40</sup> Popes Innocent III and Honorius III urged the Latin emperors and Venice to indemnify the churches and monasteries for their losses.<sup>41</sup> A financial settlement was eventually reached in 1223, by which laymen were to provide an eleventh of their income to these institutions. In Constantinople, however, the patriarch was the only beneficiary of that agreement.<sup>42</sup>

The church of Hagia Sophia, considered greatly impoverished in 1218,<sup>43</sup> was thus ensured in the following years of a large revenue. It is presumably after the earthquake of 11 March 1231, which inflicted heavy damage to churches and houses in Constantinople,

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<sup>38</sup> R. Janin, "Les sanctuaires de Byzance sous la domination latine, 1204–1261," *REB* 2 (1944), 134–84, and E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Les sanctuaires urbains et sub-urbains de Byzance sous la domination latine, 1204–1261," *REB* 11 (1953), 50–61: at least 20 churches and 13 monasteries were in Latin hands.

<sup>39</sup> P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), 162–71.

<sup>40</sup> TTh, I, 447, 451.

<sup>41</sup> In 1208 Innocent III complained to Henry of Flanders that he had not returned to the monastery of the Anastasis the properties confiscated by his predecessor Baldwin: Innocent III, *Epist.*, XI, 52, *PL* 215, col. 1376.

<sup>42</sup> R. L. Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261," *DOP* 8 (1954), 255–9, 262–73, repr. in idem, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* (London, 1976), no. IX; J. Richard, "The Establishment of the Latin Church in the Empire of Constantinople (1204–1227)," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 4 (1989), 55–6, repr. in B. Arbel, B. Hamilton and D. Jacoby, eds., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London, 1989).

<sup>43</sup> Wolff, "Politics," 265, 273. Incidentally, even after 1261 Hagia Sophia recovered only former assets and rights on Byzantine soil, yet was granted additional ones by emperor Michael VIII between 1267 and 1271: F. Dölger, ed., *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*, III: *Regesten von 1025–1204*, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1995), no. 1941a; see also K.-P. Matschke, "Grund- und Hauseigentum in und um Konstantinopel in spätbyzantinischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1984/IV), 107.

or that of 16 September 1237 that flying buttresses were constructed to shore up the walls of Hagia Sophia, a major project apparently carried out by French architects.<sup>44</sup> Yet other institutions were not as fortunate. In 1220 the prior of the church of the Holy Apostles complained to Honorius III that his church had few revenues.<sup>45</sup> Greek churches and monasteries were particularly at a disadvantage. Their income was severely curtailed by the absence of the Byzantine court and the wealthy Greek elite, which before 1204 had been the source of generous donations and endowments. In addition, they suffered from the substantial contraction of the Orthodox community in the city and the loss of many relics, transferred to local Latin institutions or shipped to the West.<sup>46</sup> In the 1230s or somewhat later, John III Vatatzes sent money to preserve a number of ecclesiastical buildings located in Latin territory, two of which were in Constantinople proper.<sup>47</sup> One of these was the Theotokos of the Blachernai, a highly venerated Byzantine sanctuary, although it had been taken over by Baldwin I together with the Blachernai palace and was being occupied by the Latin clergy.<sup>48</sup> The second institution was the Greek monastery of St. John Prodromos at Petra, present Balat quarter, which had been severely damaged by one of the earthquakes of the 1230s.<sup>49</sup>

The Latin churches and monasteries already existing in Constantinople before the Fourth Crusade, most of which were established in the quarters of the maritime nations, derived their revenues from ecclesiastical services, tithes, real estate, and the exercise of various rights.<sup>50</sup> The two Pisan churches, S. Nicolò and S. Pietro, suffered

<sup>44</sup> E. H. Swift, "The Latins at Hagia Sophia," *AJA* 39 (1935), 458-74; idem, *Hagia Sophia* (New York, 1940), 86-8, 111-9. On the earthquake of 1231: P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, CFHB 12 (Vienna, 1975-79), I, 175, no. 20/4, and II, 192 and 607, no. 13; Richard of San Germano, "Chronica," ed. C. A. Garuffi, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, VII/2, 2nd ed. (Bologna, 1936-38), 174. On that of 1237: P. Wirth, "Zur 'byzantinischen' Erdbebenliste," *BF* 1 (1966), 394, 398.

<sup>45</sup> J. Sbaralea, ed., *Bullarium franciscanum*, I (Rome, 1759), 6, no. 6.

<sup>46</sup> Partial list in D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice. A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge, 1988), 184-6. See also below, 290-1.

<sup>47</sup> Theodore Skoutariotes in A. Heisenberg, ed., *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, I (Leipzig, 1903), 287.20-28.

<sup>48</sup> Janin, *Églises*, 161-73, esp. 164. There is no ground for Janin's interpretation, according to which John III Vatatzes redeemed the church from the Latins.

<sup>49</sup> See J. Gill, "An unpublished Letter of Germanus, patriarch of Constantinople (1222-1240)," *Byz* 44 (1974), 142-51, repr. in idem, *Church Union: Rome and Byzantium (1204-1453)* (London, 1979), no. III, who convincingly argues (p. 139) that the monastery remained in Greek hands; contra Janin, *Églises*, 422-3. On the earthquakes, see above, note 44.

<sup>50</sup> R.-J. Lilie, "Die lateinische Kirche in der Romania vor dem vierten Kreuzzug,"

heavily from the fire of August 1203 and from the reduction of Pisan presence in Constantinople. Pope Innocent III transferred the contiguous Greek monastery of the Holy Savior τῶν Ἀπολογοθητῶν and its property to the local Pisan prior in order to enlarge the latter's revenue.<sup>51</sup> The ecclesiastical institutions holding assets within the Venetian quarter, which did not suffer destruction, were the least affected by the events of 1203–1204. As noted earlier, several of them received additional urban assets and rights from Venice. Some institutions not only retained their relics, but even managed to acquire new ones. Such was the case of the Pantokrator shortly after the conquest.<sup>52</sup> In 1257 a Venetian fleet returned to Constantinople from an expedition to the Bulgarian port of Mesembria with the body of St. Theodore the martyr, which was brought to the church of S. Nicolò dell'Embolo and remained there until 1267.<sup>53</sup>

A cadaster compiled in 1240–1241 lists the payments collected by the patriarchate of Grado from the leasing of its numerous plots of land, houses and wharves. It also mentions income from the use of its balances, weights and measures, a monopoly it held within the entire Venetian quarter.<sup>54</sup> The agents administering the patriarchate's property and rights in Constantinople appear to have transferred most of its revenue to Venice,<sup>55</sup> the rest being presumably used for the upkeep of its local institutions. In 1244 S. Giorgio Maggiore leased its church of S. Marco dell'Embolo in the ancient Venetian quarter, its monastery of Christ Pantepoptes in the area annexed in 1204, as well as their houses to the bishop of Heraclea, Benedict, in return for an annual payment and the promise to maintain them properly or improve their condition.<sup>56</sup> However, not all Venetian institutions had the means to do so. The campanile of the church of S. Maria dell'Embolo, held by the monastery of SS. Felice e Fortunato di Ammiana, as well as a nearby house collapsed shortly before 1255, had not been repaired by 1260.<sup>57</sup>

BZ 82 (1989), 202–12. However, Magdalino, *CP médiévale*, 75–6, 83, 87, 97, places the Amalfitan monastery of S. Maria de Latina in the area of Petron. On revenues, see Innocent III, *Epist.*, XI, 17, 22, 24, *PL* 215, cols. 1350–3.

<sup>51</sup> See above, note 29.

<sup>52</sup> On which see below, 290–1.

<sup>53</sup> P. Riant, ed., *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, I (Geneva, 1877–78), 156–9.

<sup>54</sup> On the cadaster and its dating, see Jacoby, "Venetian Settlers," 189–97.

<sup>55</sup> On such agents, see Jacoby, "Venetian Presence," 184–5 and n. 151; idem, "Venetian Settlers," 184–5, 192, 194–5.

<sup>56</sup> *TTh*, II, 422–3. On the monastery, see Janin, *Églises*, 513–5, §17.

<sup>57</sup> Testimonies recorded on 7 June 1260: ASV, Procuratori di S. Marco de Supra, b. 135, proc. 287, fasc. 2.

Latin churches and monasteries were not immune from losses due to Latin clerics and laymen. Between 1205 and 1208 patriarch Tommaso Morosini took marble columns from the church of the Anastasis monastery to decorate the altar of Hagia Sophia.<sup>58</sup> The body of St. Paul, martyred under Constantine V, was kept at the monastery of Christ Pantepoptes, which in the Latin period belonged to S. Giorgio Maggiore of Venice. However, after its first prior, Paul, became abbot of the mother house in 1220, he obtained permission from the Venetian podestà, Marino Storlato, to transfer the relic to Venice.<sup>59</sup> The headless body of Paul the Hermit was taken from the monastery of St. Mary Peribleptos to Venice in 1239–1240.<sup>60</sup> The importance of relics as a potent factor attracting donations and endowments is well illustrated by the distress of the clergy attached to the church of St. John of the Hippodrome, from which the corpse of St. Christine had been stolen in 1252. Innocent IV enjoined the patriarch and the heads of ecclesiastical institutions of Constantinople to assist that church in the recovery of its relic.<sup>61</sup>

The houses of some western monastic orders established in Constantinople seem to have enjoyed particularly favorable economic conditions, which enabled them to preserve and even embellish their respective structures. The richly endowed Cistercian monastery of St. Mary de Percheio (*Perceul*), attested by 1221, was among the few institutions whose assets, situated in the city itself and nearby, provided a sizeable income. Its abbess loaned more than 4,000 hyperpers to emperor Baldwin II some time before 1238.<sup>62</sup> The *xenon* of St. Sampson, sacked soon after the conquest, was later taken over by a small hospital order specific to the Latin Empire, approved in 1208. St. Sampson was reorganized as a western hospital, which may have led to some small changes in the internal disposition of the building.

<sup>58</sup> Innocent III, *Epist.*, XI, 76, *PL* 215, col. 1392 = *TTh*, II, 83. See also Janin, *Églises*, 21. Madden, "Fires," 80, suggests that the church was in fact St. Anastasia, damaged by fire, yet his arguments are not convincing. The pillars may well have been taken without damaging the church proper: see Talbot, "Restoration," 246–7, 256.

<sup>59</sup> Riant, *Exuviae*, I, 141–9; II, 262, 264.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 187–8; Andrea Dandolo, "Chronica per extensum descripta," ed. E. Pastorello, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, XII/1, 2nd ed. (Bologna, 1938), 297.

<sup>61</sup> Cornelius, *Ecclesiae Torcellanae*, I, 150. On the church, yet without these facts, see Janin, *Églises*, 416.

<sup>62</sup> E. A. R. Brown, "The Cistercians in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and Greece, 1201–1276," *Traditio* 24 (1958), 91–3. Location in Petron by Janin, *Églises*, 581–2.

It was endowed with sources of revenue in the Latin Empire, Greece and Hungary.<sup>63</sup> The Franciscans too, already established in Constantinople by 1220, apparently received financial support from abroad. An overlooked testimony of 1233 confirms the existence of their community,<sup>64</sup> whose large Greek library is attested in the following year.<sup>65</sup> The conjunction of these pieces of evidence raises all doubts regarding the identity of Kalenderhane Camii in the Latin period. The Franciscan church was a fairly new building, in which only small changes were made. The frescoes depicting a cycle of St. Francis found in a chapel were most likely executed by a Latin artist in the 1250s.<sup>66</sup>

We may now turn to palaces and public buildings in the imperial sector of Constantinople. The first Latin emperor, Baldwin of Flanders, settled in the palace of Boukoleon,<sup>67</sup> in which the marriage feast of Henry of Flanders and Agnes, daughter of Boniface of Montferrat, was celebrated in February 1207.<sup>68</sup> The palace was also the residence of some of their successors. In addition, Henry of Flanders used the Blachernai palace.<sup>69</sup> The first two Latin emperors may still have had sufficient resources deriving from the imperial portion of the booty assembled in 1204 and, therefore, could still offer somehow a concrete display of riches befitting their status. Thus, between 1206 and 1216 Henry employed in Constantinople Gerard the goldsmith, one of the great masters of the Mosan school, who executed for him the splendid golden reliquary of the True Cross at present in the treasury of S. Marco in Venice.<sup>70</sup> Yet it is doubtful

<sup>63</sup> T. S. Miller, "The Sampson Hospital of Constantinople," *BF* 15 (1990), 128–30, and on property before 1204, *ibid.*, 130–5; on property in the Latin period: Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Sanctuaires," 56–8. The *xenon* was not in the hands of the Templars or the Hospitallers, as commonly believed: see Richard, "Latin Church," 53.

<sup>64</sup> G. Golubovitch, *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, II (Quaracchi, 1913), 302–3: a Muslim visited the monks before being converted.

<sup>65</sup> R. L. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio* 2 (1944), 229–30, repr. in *idem*, *Studies*, no. VII.

<sup>66</sup> C. L. Striker and Y. D. Kuban, eds., *Kalenderhane in Istanbul: The Buildings, their History, Architecture, and Decoration* (Mainz, 1997), 72, 128–42. The artist came from a group of painters, one of whom executed in Acre the miniatures of the Arsenal Bible between 1250 and 1254: D. H. Weiss, *Art and Crusade in the Age of Saint Louis* (Cambridge, 1998), 151–2, 202–4.

<sup>67</sup> Robert de Clari, *Conquête*, 93–5, §§96–7; Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, 2nd ed. by E. Faral (Paris 1961), II, 68–70, §263.

<sup>68</sup> Villehardouin, *Conquête*, II, 272, §458.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 280, §465.

<sup>70</sup> See D. Gaborit-Chopin in *The Treasury of San Marco* (catalogue of the exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (Venice-Milan, 1984), 244–51.



that either that emperor or any of his Latin successors could afford the continuous large outlay required for the maintenance, extensive repair or construction of palaces and public buildings in their own section of the city. The situation in this respect seriously worsened during the long reign of Baldwin II, who was chronically indebted.<sup>71</sup> His expedients for raising money included the sale of lead joints stripped from the roofs of imperial palaces.<sup>72</sup> Baldwin II was staying in the Blachernai palace, his preferred residence, when the Byzantine troops entered Constantinople on 25 July 1261. Continuous use and neglect in his reign explain the ongoing deterioration of that palace.<sup>73</sup> Many years of neglect were also responsible for the appalling condition of the city's land walls and the urgent repairs they required soon after the Byzantine recovery.<sup>74</sup>

The urban policy pursued by Venice in its own section of Constantinople was determined by political, military and economic considerations. The Pantokrator, located in its newly annexed territory, consisted of the monastery proper with a church bearing that name, two additional contiguous churches, the three being known today as Zeyrek Kilise Camii, buildings for the housing of the monks, in addition to a hospital and a hospice for the elderly.<sup>75</sup> The Pantokrator was looted soon after the conquest, yet its buildings were apparently not damaged.<sup>76</sup> They afforded ample space for housing, offices and storage, which explains why presumably after his election in June 1205 the podestà Marino Zeno chose the Pantokrator as his residence and as seat of the Venetian administration, treasury and judicial court in the city, functions it fulfilled throughout the Latin period.<sup>77</sup> In 1206 Marino Zeno forcefully removed from the church

<sup>71</sup> R. L. Wolff, "Mortgage and Redemption of an Emperor's Son: Castile and the Latin Empire of Constantinople," *Speculum* 29 (1954), 45–64, 80–2, repr. in idem, *Studies*, no. V, yet see corrections in Jacoby, "Venetian Settlers," 193, 197–202.

<sup>72</sup> R. L. Wolff, "Hopf's so-called 'Fragmentum' of Marino Sanudo Torsello," in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York, 1953), 150, repr. in idem, *Studies*, no. X.

<sup>73</sup> Pachym., ed. Failler, I, 199.12–16, 219.4–9; Talbot, "Restoration," 250.

<sup>74</sup> Pachym., ed. Failler, I, 215.26–27. On the sea walls, see Talbot, "Restoration," 249. Work on them was not motivated by the latter's condition, but by military considerations.

<sup>75</sup> See Janin, *Églises*, 515–23, no. 18, and for specific buildings, 175–6, no. 31; 344, no. 16; 556, no. 21; 46–7; 564–6. See also the papers by M. and Z. Ahunbay and by R. Ousterhout in this volume.

<sup>76</sup> Gunther of Paris, *De expugnatione Constantinopolitana*, chap. 19, in Riant, *Exuviae*, I, 105–6, without mentioning the monastery by name, yet its identity is revealed by the reference to the tomb of emperor Manuel's mother, Irene of Hungary, buried in the church dedicated to St. Michael at the Pantokrator: Janin, *Églises*, 516.

<sup>77</sup> Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 186. Gregoras, I, 85.23–24 is the source of the

of St. Sophia the sacred icon of the Virgin Hodegetria, thought to have been painted by St. Luke, and placed it in the south church of the Pantokrator complex, dedicated to the latter.<sup>78</sup> It seems likely, therefore, that he rather than one of his successors ordered changes and additions to be made in that church to boost its prestige further. The work included the removal of the iconostasis, the incorporation in the templon of some sculptures from the church of St. Polyeuktos, abandoned before 1204, and the fixing of stained glass windows, pieces of which have been found.<sup>79</sup> It has been argued on technical and stylistic grounds that this glass belongs to the Latin period.<sup>80</sup> Its execution by western glassmakers shortly after 1204 would not be surprising, considering the presence of other western artists in Constantinople at that time.<sup>81</sup>

The Pantokrator lost various sources of revenue as a result of the Latin conquest, although some of its assets were located in the vicinity of Constantinople.<sup>82</sup> To be sure, some enamels were removed from its main church in the course of the Latin period and incorporated into the Pala d'Oro of S. Marco in Venice.<sup>83</sup> Yet in 1261 the

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erroneous statement that the Pantokrator was the seat of the Latin emperor, recently repeated by Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 32–3.

<sup>78</sup> Innocent III, *Epist.*, IX, 243, *PL* 215, cols. 1077–8. See R. L. Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio* 6 (1948), 319–28, esp. 320–1.

<sup>79</sup> On the excavations, see A. H. S. Megaw, "Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP* 17 (1963), 335–64, who ascribes the painted window glass to the pre-1204 period (pp. 362–4) partly because he believed that the Latins removed all valuable objects from the Pantokrator and, therefore, would not have adorned the church. He was not aware of the functions of the buildings mentioned above. On similar glass found in Kariye Camii, see *ibid.*, 364–7. On the sculpture of St. Polyeuktos, see Harrison, *Saraghane*, I, 112–3, 414–8.

<sup>80</sup> J. Lafond, "Découverte de vitraux historiés du Moyen Age à Constantinople," *CahArch* 18 (1968), 231–7, who considers that the "Romanesque" phase of glass windows ended in France around 1200, yet was prolonged in Germany. He therefore ascribes the Pantokrator glass to a "German" artist. Recent discussion of that glass in connection with similar finds in Kariye Camii, with possible dating in the Latin period, by J. Henderson and M. Mundell Mango, "Glass at Medieval Constantinople: Preliminary Scientific Evidence," in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, eds. C. Mango and G. Dagron (Aldershot, 1995), 346–9, 353–6.

<sup>81</sup> See above, 289. Note another building initiative of Zeno, below 294.

<sup>82</sup> Listing of assets: P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *REB* 32 (1974), 69–71.685–697 and 115–25.1446–1576.

<sup>83</sup> Some members of the Byzantine delegation to the Council of Florence who in February 1438 visited S. Marco in Venice identified the origin of these enamels and dated their removal: text ed. by V. Laurent, *Les "Mémoires" du Grand Ecclésiastique de l'Eglise de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438–1439)* (Paris, 1971), 222.19–224.4. G. Perocco, "History of the Treasury of San Marco," in *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice*, 66, claims that the last podestà Marco Gradenigo and

icon of the Hodegetria was still at the Pantokrator, from where it was taken to be carried at the head of the festive procession which Michael VIII led when entering Constantinople.<sup>84</sup> We may safely assume that the unique conjunction of the Pantokrator's two functions, ecclesiastical and governmental, the latter as seat of the podestà representing Venice in Constantinople, induced Venetian authorities to maintain its structures in excellent condition throughout the Latin period and even to upgrade them, in any event in the years immediately following the conquest.

Some sources seem to suggest that the Venetians fortified the Pantokrator. By the treaty of Nymphaeum, concluded on 13 March 1261, Michael VIII promised Genoa various pieces of property held by Venice in Constantinople. According to Genoese copies of the Latin version of the treaty, these included the soil of the Venetian castle (*solum castrì Venetorum*).<sup>85</sup> The *Annales Ianuenses* report that the emperor transferred to the Genoese the large fortified palace of the Venetians, which the Genoese utterly destroyed at the sound of music, sending home some of its stones.<sup>86</sup> There is a striking parallel between this account and the report of the *Annales* on the events of 1258 in Acre, where the Venetians utterly destroyed the tower and quarter of the Genoese, further humiliating them by celebrations and the transfer of some of the tower's stones and gates to Venice.<sup>87</sup> The developments of 1261 which resulted in the ouster of Venice from Constantinople were clearly perceived and portrayed in Genoa as revenge for the defeat suffered by the Genoese in Acre and their ouster from that city in 1258.<sup>88</sup> The *Annales* reflect an official, highly didactic,

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the Latin patriarch Pantaleone Giustinian took the furnishings of the Pantokrator with them when they fled from Constantinople to Venice in 1261, yet Marino Sanudo, on whom he relies, does not explicitly refer to them. S. Bettini, "Venice, the *Pala d'Oro*, and Constantinople," *ibid.*, 39–42, n. 7, rightly casts serious doubts on such a scenario. In fact it is totally excluded, since the last podestà, Marco Gradenigo, left behind the prestigious icon of the Hodegetria when he fled: see below, 292. Neither was the Latin patriarch involved in the transfer of enamels at that time, since he had no access to the Pantokrator.

<sup>84</sup> Pachym., ed. Failler, I, 217.11–14, 16–17. George Akropolites, *Chronike Syngraphe*, in Heisenberg, *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, I, 187.14–15, 26–29 (hereafter Akropolites), does not mention wherefrom the icon was taken.

<sup>85</sup> C. Manfroni, "Le relazioni fra Genova, l'Impero bizantino e i Turchi," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 28/3 (1898), 795.

<sup>86</sup> L. T. Belgrano—C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, eds., *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de' suoi continuatori dal MXCIX al MCCXCIII*, IV (Rome, 1890–1929), 45.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 36. Exactly the same expression, *fonditus diruerunt*, appears in both accounts.

<sup>88</sup> See *ibid.*, 41–2, on revenge as Genoese motivation for the treaty of Nymphaeum.

biased and occasionally even distorted version of events aimed at glorifying Genoa.

This indeed seems to be the case with respect to those occurring in Constantinople in 1261. The treaty of Nymphaeum stipulated that the transfer of property was conditional on immediate and effective Genoese naval help to regain Constantinople. However, since Michael VIII recovered the city without Genoa's fleet, he was not bound by that promise. Moreover, it is excluded that the emperor should have allowed the Genoese to destroy a large fortified building in Constantinople, let alone the Pantokrator. Anyhow, there is no evidence that the latter's structures were either damaged or restored in or shortly after 1261.<sup>89</sup> The boastful statement of the *Annales Ianuenses* may thus be safely discarded as unreliable.<sup>90</sup>

Since the identification of the *castrum Venetorum* with the Pantokrator is excluded, one may wonder what the former's nature and location were. The church of St. Mary, obviously S. Maria dell'Embolo, attested since 1148 in the ancient Venetian quarter,<sup>91</sup> was among the assets requested by the Genoese. This suggests that the Venetian *castrum* was also situated in that area. However, since there is no evidence that the Venetians fortified their ancient quarter either before or after 1204, one may wonder whether *castrum* is not an erroneous copy of another word, such as *campus*, used in the thirteenth century for "quarter". This last interpretation appears to be supported by emperor Michael's promise to hand over the *soil* or territory of the *castrum*, which would have amounted to the Venetian quarter within its pre-1204 boundaries.<sup>92</sup> The emperor obviously did not offer the Genoese the enlarged one existing since 1204.

<sup>89</sup> The account of the *Annales Ianuenses* has been generally accepted as truthful and as referring to the Pantokrator. However, Janin, *Églises*, 517, tempers it by referring to the destruction of buildings linked to the Pantokrator, whereas Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*, 178, suggests that the Genoese destroyed "much of the building."

<sup>90</sup> The same anonymous Genoese chronicler reports that the news of Constantinople's recovery by Michael VIII arrived in Genoa in May 1262, or ten months after the event: Belgrano—Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Annali genovesi*, IV, 45. This dating is clearly unreliable, since the news of the treaty of Nymphaeum arrived in Genoa within less than three months: Dölger, *Regesten*, III, no. 1890. D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282. A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 148, seeks to overcome the difficulty by suggesting that the Genoese source refers to an official Byzantine notification, brought over by an envoy of the emperor. This explanation is unconvincing.

<sup>91</sup> S. Borsari, *Venezia e Bisanzio nel XII secolo. I rapporti economici* (Venice, 1988), 32–3.

<sup>92</sup> Since both the original Greek and Latin versions of the treaty have not survived, it is impossible to determine which word was rendered as *castrum* by the copyists working in Genoa. On *campus* for "quarter," see, e.g., TTh, II, 253–4: *de*

Venice engaged in some public works in its section of Constantinople, as attested by sources more reliable in this respect than the *Annales Ianuenses*. For obvious reasons the defence of the city and the consolidation of Venetian presence were among its major concerns. Between June 1205 and March 1207 the podestà Marino Zeno rebuilt in the area of Petrion a section of the city wall along the Golden Horn that had been severely damaged by the Latin attacks of 17 July 1203 and April 1204. This section now belonged to Venice.<sup>93</sup> Expanding trade in Constantinople and expectations of further economic growth induced the podestà Giacomo Tiepolo to engage sometime before June 1220 in the construction of a *fondaco* or caravanserail within the ancient Venetian quarter, on land he had confiscated from the Grado patriarchate. He compensated this institution on behalf of the Commune by paying an annual rent of 20 hyperpers.<sup>94</sup> The absence of public construction in the Venetian quarter at a later period was apparently due to the heavy expenses incurred by Venice for the preservation of Latin rule over Constantinople.<sup>95</sup>

The evidence examined so far reveals that the division of political authority over Constantinople between the Latin emperors and Venice had some far-reaching repercussions on the city's urban development. Venice pursued in its own sector an active urban policy aimed at promoting its political standing and economic interests. One aspect of that policy was implemented by public construction. In addition, Venice considered Venetian churches and monasteries in Constantinople a reflection of its own political and social body, and as such worthy of state support in the form of additional economic resources. The financial standing of these institutions was further enhanced by the economic vitality of the ancient Venetian quarter close to the Golden Horn and the concentration of population that took place within its boundaries, developments that were strongly furthered by the exercise of Venice's authority over its own quarter. We may safely assume that a majority among the Latin residents, around 3,000 of whom fled the city on 25 July 1261, lived

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*facto omnium camporum gentium latinorum Constantinopolis* (1223). This use is confirmed by Akropolites, 183.8-12.

<sup>93</sup> TTh, II, 47-9, and III, 23-4; new ed. and correct dating of the first document in M. Pozza, ed., *Gli atti originali della cancelleria veneziana, II: 1205-1227* (Venice, 1996), 39-41, no. 7; see also Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 184-5.

<sup>94</sup> Jacoby, "Venetian Settlers," 190-1.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 204 n. 106, and Marino Sanudo in Wolff, "'Fragmentum,'" 150.

in that quarter or in its vicinity.<sup>96</sup> Indeed, Pachymeres stresses that most Latins who remained behind were concentrated in the Venetian quarter and a smaller number in the Pisan one, while other Latins were scattered throughout the city.<sup>97</sup>

It appears, then, that the conjunction of favorable political, economic and demographic factors enabled the maintenance of public, institutional and private buildings in the Venetian quarter and encouraged private construction throughout the Latin period. This growth, however, was partly annihilated by the fires which the Greeks ignited in that quarter soon after their recovery of the city in 1261.<sup>98</sup> By contrast, in the imperial section of the city public and institutional structures were far more exposed to depredations and neglect by laymen and clerics. To the misdeeds and passivity of the Latin emperors, mentioned earlier, one may add for instance the stripping of copper and lead from the roofs of churches, condemned in 1217 or 1218 by the papal legate Pelagius, yet pursued in 1221 and 1222 by the newly elected patriarch Matthaeus.<sup>99</sup> It is clear, then, that the urban evolution of the enlarged Venetian area followed a course markedly different from that of the imperial section of the city. Yet within each of these sectors developments were also far from uniform. We have noted some particular features and factors distinguishing the ancient Venetian quarter from the area annexed by Venice in 1204. Diversity in this respect between various districts may also be postulated for the imperial section of the city. Thus, for instance, while Galata apparently underwent a process of ruralization following the fire of 1203,<sup>100</sup> other urban areas spared by the events of the Fourth Crusade preserved their urban layout and character.

To this spatial variety one should add yet another factor. The well-informed George Pachymeres, a contemporary of the events of 1261, offers some important observations regarding the state of urban

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<sup>96</sup> For this figure, see Geanakoplos, *Michael Palaeologus*, 113–4.

<sup>97</sup> See Pachym., as above, note 28.

<sup>98</sup> Pachym., ed. Failler, I, 221, 223; Akropolites, 183.8–12. The fires did not consume the entire quarter, since Venetian residents remained there afterwards: see previous note.

<sup>99</sup> Wolff, "Politics," 278, mentions the unpublished relevant section of the letter sent by Honorius III on 18 May 1222. After the recovery of Constantinople in 1261, Holobolos stressed the need to provide new roofs of tile or lead to churches, obviously in the imperial sector: Manuel Holobolos, *Orations*, ed. M. Treu, *Programm des königlichen Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam* (Potsdam, 1906), 86.11–22.

<sup>100</sup> See above, 282.

structures in Constantinople at that time. There was still a large number of them, he writes, including stately ones, since the city had been occupied by the Latins for fifty-eight years *only*. More would have been preserved if not for the emperors who, in constant need of resources, wrecklessly despoiled imperial palaces.<sup>101</sup> Pachymeres not only distinguishes between the fate of private and that of non-private buildings, but also suggests that a fairly large number of the former were still in good condition. This assessment is backed by his account regarding the distribution of property soon after the city's recovery. Acting on behalf of Michael VIII, Alexios Strategopoulos granted houses to the magnates according to their rank, which implies the preservation of numerous mansions.<sup>102</sup> With respect to the state of private dwellings and especially mansions, we should also take into account that, except for the imperial court and the magnates, all ranks of Greek society were represented within the population of Latin Constantinople, though in smaller numbers than before 1204.<sup>103</sup> In sum, we arrive at a far brighter and more variegated picture of the urban evolution of Latin Constantinople than the one painted by literary sources.

One would have expected Venice and the Latin emperors to cooperate in the urban sphere in matters of common interest, such as the city's defence. However, we have noted that Venice repaired a section of the city wall included in its own sector, while the emperors neglected the land wall protecting theirs. The maintenance of the urban water supply system was yet another matter of common interest. Some parts of that system continued to function in the late twelfth century.<sup>104</sup> They were apparently also used during the Latin period, as we may gather from Holobolos' reference to the building of public baths by Michael VIII after 1261.<sup>105</sup> An unpublished Venetian document, mentioned earlier, implies that by 1252 the Valens aqueduct was still reaching the Forum Tauri, from where the water used to be supplied to various parts of the city.<sup>106</sup> We do not know, how-

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<sup>101</sup> Pachym., ed. Failler, I, 213.28–30.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 215.11–15.

<sup>103</sup> See above, note 11.

<sup>104</sup> C. Mango, "The Water Supply of Constantinople," in *CP and its Hinterland*, eds. Mango and Dagron, 17–8.

<sup>105</sup> Holobolos, *Orationes*, 58.31–33.

<sup>106</sup> Jacoby, "Venetian Quarter," 187–8. For the division of water, see Mango, "Water Supply," 14–5.

ever, whether the aqueduct was in operation in the Latin period.

There was one field, however, in which the Latin emperors and Venice displayed the same approach, though for different reasons. They disregarded the historical, symbolic and ideological dimension of Constantinople as imperial capital, which the Byzantine emperors had decisively promoted by public works and by the construction and embellishment of churches and monasteries. At first glance the attitude of the Latin emperors in this respect is rather surprising, in view of their emphasis on imperial continuity as reflected by various aspects of their rule. Yet they lacked the imperial vision and deep-seated convictions of their Byzantine predecessors, and the absence of resources prevented them anyhow from engaging in urban enterprises. As for Venice, it was exclusively motivated by practical considerations and by the enhancement of its own interests in the city. The Byzantine recovery of Constantinople proved, thus, to be a turning point in the city's urban evolution. It resulted in a return to traditional imperial values, priorities and policies. Emperor Michael VIII promoted the repopulation of the city, the revival of its economy, and the restoration of its urban prestige.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Talbot, "Restoration," 249–55, 258–61.





## CHAPTER NINETEEN

# LA SOCIÉTÉ PÉROTE AUX XIV<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLES: AUTOUR DES DEMERODE ET DES DRAPERIO

Michel Balard

Etabli à la fin de l'année 1267,<sup>1</sup> le comptoir génois de Péra constitue, par ordre chronologique, la première colonie durable qu'aient obtenue les Génois en Haute-Romanie. Certes, la Commune bénéficiait d'une expérience coloniale acquise précédemment dans les villes côtières de Syrie-Palestine que lui avaient concédées les rois de Jérusalem et les princes d'Antioche et de Tripoli. Mais l'immigration génoise n'y avait été que très limitée. Aucune communauté importante n'y avait fait souche: une administration réduite, quelques hommes d'affaires et des facteurs en résidence temporaire constituaient la population de ces "échelles" du Levant. A Constantinople, en revanche et pour la première fois, un courant migratoire, partant de Ligurie, allait être à l'origine de la formation d'une ville nouvelle, où l'élément ligure était appelé à coexister avec la population grecque, anciennement installée. Cette coexistence peut être examinée dans l'optique d'une histoire de la colonisation, de l'acculturation réciproque des deux éléments ethniques majeurs formant la population du comptoir. La minorité ligure, politiquement dominante, se laisserait-elle influencer au fil des siècles par la majorité hellénique, au point de se sentir progressivement coupée de ses racines génoises? Y a-t-il eu, en d'autres termes, une lente "orientalisation" des Génois de Péra, ce qui expliquerait leur rapide adaptation au nouveau régime que leur impose la conquête ottomane de 1453?

Pour répondre à cette question, les sources disponibles introduisent un biais fondamental: majoritairement d'origine génoise, elles ignorent en grande partie la population grecque, entrevue au niveau des élites,

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<sup>1</sup> G. I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois en mer Noire au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Bucarest, 1929), 88; D. J. A. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 206–7; M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise (XII<sup>e</sup>-début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, 2 vol., Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 235 (Rome-Gênes, 1978), I, 113.

mais presque totalement ignorée dans ses couches les plus basses. Les Grecs disposent des services de leur propre notaire et ne recourent aux scribes génois qu'à l'occasion d'affaires les engageant avec des Occidentaux. De même, ils n'apparaissent que rarement dans les comptes de la *Massaria* (Trésorerie) de Péra: des noms de débiteurs ou de fournisseurs, assortis de leur origine géographique ou de leur quartier de résidence (Lagirio ou Spiga, les deux faubourgs indigènes de Péra) et parfois de la mention de leur activité professionnelle. Il faut donc se contenter d'examiner la population occidentale, en notant les indices d'une possible évolution, au cours des deux siècles de domination génoise. Les sources disponibles ne permettent malheureusement pas de définir avec précision chaque étape de cette évolution.

Peu d'actes notariés instrumentés à Péra ont en effet subsisté: trois cent trente, échelonnés du 27 juin au 9 octobre 1281,<sup>2</sup> soit une quinzaine d'années après l'occupation effective de Péra par les Génois, une cinquantaine d'actes antérieurs à 1389, publiés en régestes,<sup>3</sup> le minutier du notaire Donato di Chiavari, scribe de la cour du podestat de Péra, soit quatre-vingt-trois actes rédigés entre le 1<sup>er</sup> octobre 1389 et le 1<sup>er</sup> septembre 1390,<sup>4</sup> enfin cent vingt-quatre actes de divers notaires ayant instrumenté à Péra entre 1408 et 1490,<sup>5</sup> au total moins de six cents actes en deux siècles, soit peu de chose en comparaison de la masse importante des actes notariés de Chio qui ont été préservés. Les quatre registres de la *Massaria* de Péra (1390, 1391, 1402) et les deux des *Sindicamenta Peire* comblent à peine ces lacunes: là encore, rien de comparable avec la belle série des *Massarie* de Caffa et de Famagouste, qui offrent une image assez complète de la population de ces deux comptoirs génois entre la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle et 1475. Deux autres sources, indirectes, ont été mises à contribution: d'une part les comptes de l'expédition en Orient d'Amédée VI de Savoie, qui contracta de nombreux emprunts auprès de bourgeois de Péra en 1366 et 1367,<sup>6</sup> d'autre part, le célèbre livre de

<sup>2</sup> G. I. Bratianu, *Actes des notaires génois de Péra et de Caffa de la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle (1281-1290)* (Bucarest, 1927).

<sup>3</sup> M. Balard, A. E. Laiou, C. Otten-Froux, *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Paris, 1987), 17-30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 30-50.

<sup>5</sup> A. Roccatagliata, *Notai genovesi in Oltremare. Atti rogati a Pera e Mitilene. I: Pera, 1408-1490*, Collana storica di Fonti e Studi diretta da Geo Pistarino 34/1 (Gênes, 1982).

<sup>6</sup> F. Bollati di Saint-Pierre, *Illustrazioni della Spedizione in Oriente di Amedeo VI<sup>o</sup>* (Turin, 1890).

comptes de Giacomo Badoer, en relation d'affaires avec de nombreux Pérotes entre 1437 et 1439.<sup>7</sup> Dans ces deux cas, seuls les hommes d'affaires émergent de l'ombre, les petites gens n'étant connues qu'exceptionnellement.

A la fin du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, la population de Péra forme encore une société instable, issue de courants migratoires entre la Ligurie et les rives de la Corne d'Or. On y rencontre d'abord des Génois de la métropole qui, avec 316 noms identifiés, forment plus de la moitié de la population du comptoir: membres des grandes familles génoises qui se qualifient de *civis Ianuensis* ou d'*habitor Ianue*, signe qu'aucun rameau de ces clans familiaux ne s'est encore installé à demeure; gens, plus modestes, des *contrade* ou des *conestagie* de Gênes, qui tentent l'aventure de l'Orient, mais sans avoir encore le désir de s'y établir. Deux seuls Génois se disent alors "bourgeois de Constantinople," sans doute davantage pour marquer qu'ils sont au service du *basileus* que pour déclarer leur résidence permanente dans le comptoir génois. Les émigrants ligures complètent l'effectif: 174 d'entre eux proviennent de l'étroite bande côtière qui s'étend de San Remo à La Spezia. Ils se répartissent entre 58 villes, villages ou lieux-dits, principalement les bourgs des *Riviere* ligures, qui constituent autant de foyers d'un *inurbamento* orienté d'abord vers la métropole, puis vers l'outremer. L'émigration n'en reste pas moins une affaire d'hommes, une aventure, le plus souvent temporaire, mais qui peut préluder à une installation définitive.<sup>8</sup>

Les premiers signes peuvent en être notés au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Giorgio Stella nous rappelle en effet qu'en 1324 la communauté pérote, de tendance gibeline, s'oppose à la métropole, passée sous la domination des Guelfes.<sup>9</sup> La communauté pérote, reconstruite après les ravages de la flotte vénitienne en 1296, disposant d'un espace agrandi après les chrysobulles concédés par Andronic II en 1303 et 1304,<sup>10</sup> est assez forte pour développer une politique plus conforme à ses intérêts propres qu'à ceux de la lointaine métropole. Elle comprend désormais les membres des plus grandes familles génoises,

<sup>7</sup> *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer*, éd. U. Dorini, T. Bertelè, Il Nuovo Ramusio III (Rome, 1956).

<sup>8</sup> Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, I, 244-5 et 255.

<sup>9</sup> G. Stella, *Annales Genuenses*, éd. G. Petti Balbi: Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*<sup>2</sup>, XVII (Bologne, 1975), 105.

<sup>10</sup> L. T. Belgrano, "Prima serie di documenti riguardanti la colonia di Pera," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* XIII (Gênes, 1877-84), 103-6.

Salvago, Embriaco, Cattaneo, Doria, de Marini, Lercari, qui choisissent d'être inhumés auprès de l'église Saint-Paul – Saint-Dominique de Péra. Alors que l'on n'a retrouvé qu'une seule pierre tombale du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, les inscriptions funéraires gravées entre 1300 et 1350 sont au nombre de vingt-deux et, entre 1350 et 1410, au nombre de trente-sept.<sup>11</sup> Autre indice: l'appellation "bourgeois de Péra" apparaît dans les actes notariés au cours de la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: en 1331, le sénéchal Amsermus de Modono se qualifie ainsi, de même que Giovanni di Chiavari, Gianotto Vataccio, alors que certains de leurs compatriotes se disent seulement "habitants de Péra."<sup>12</sup> Rapidement la première appellation l'emporte sur la seconde, signe d'un enracinement incontestable des migrants. Une communauté pérote s'est donc développée dans la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, grâce à des mouvements migratoires, mais aussi à son dynamisme propre.

Au cours de son expédition en Orient, le comte Amédée VI de Savoie a maintes fois recours aux Génois de Péra, pour en obtenir des prêts, des navires ou des approvisionnements. Les comptes dressés par le trésorier Antonio Barberio font état de sept prêteurs pérotes pour un total de 45 734 hyperpères, soit environ 22 860 ducats. Parmi eux se distinguent deux banquiers, Nicoloso di Quarto et Francesco Negrono, qui avancent au comte de Savoie 34 862 hyperpères, soit les trois quarts des sommes empruntées. Un autre prêteur, Luchino de Giuliano, marchand de Péra, figure comme témoin dans un acte notarié de novembre 1369 avec le qualificatif de "bourgeois de Péra."<sup>13</sup> Certains remboursements, prévus à Venise, sont effectués à Péra "par grâce spéciale" du comte. C'est ainsi que Francesco Marabotto reçoit 2 175 hyperpères pour les 1 875 qu'il a prêtés. Il en tire donc un intérêt de 14 pour cent, pour une période d'environ un an.<sup>14</sup> Un autre prêteur, Dorino di Paravagnia, est aussi remboursé avant terme, mais bénéficie d'un intérêt moindre, 8,5 pour cent. Les comptes d'Antonio Barberio n'étant pas datés, il

<sup>11</sup> E. Dalleggio d'Alessio, "Le pietre sepolcrali di Arab Giami (antica chiesa di S. Paolo in Galata)," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* LXIX (Gênes, 1942).

<sup>12</sup> L. Balletto, *Genova, Mediterraneo, Mar Nero (secc. XIII-XV)* (Gênes, 1976), 168, 171; Balard et al., *Les Italiens*, 21-7.

<sup>13</sup> Bollati di Saint-Pierre, *Illustrazioni*, 17/LXXXI et Balard et al., *Les Italiens*, 29, n° 50.

<sup>14</sup> Bollati di Saint-Pierre, *Illustrazioni*, 13/LVI et 132/528.

est impossible de calculer l'intérêt annuel que rapportent ces prêts.

Amédée VI de Savoie s'adresse à trois armateurs pérotes pour fréter quelques navires: deux galères et une nef, que mettent à sa disposition Domenico Vairolo, Martino de Campofregoso et Angelo di Diano, pour son entreprise contre les villes de la côte bulgare. Il a recours également à une dizaine de fournisseurs pérotes, qui l'approvisionnent en vin, céréales, viande salée, vêtements, torches, chandelles et médicaments, ou bien lui rachètent des marchandises confisquées à Gallipoli ou à Mesembria. Cinq ménestrels, un porte-étendard et sept arbalétriers de Péra sont rétribués par le trésorier du comte de Savoie. Ces quelques notations comptables laissent entrevoir la richesse d'une communauté pérote capable de subvenir aux besoins financiers d'un chef d'expédition et de fournir hommes d'armes, vaisseaux et marins, en appui d'une petite armada constituée en Occident.

A la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, les sources disponibles en plus grand nombre mettent en évidence la composition de la population pérote et laissent entrevoir la communauté grecque du comptoir. Si l'on en croit le témoignage tardif (1437) de Pero Tafur, Péra compterait environ 2 000 habitants: "le peuple est grec, écrit l'hidalgo sévillan, mais gouverné par les Génois qui occupent toutes les fonctions."<sup>15</sup> Ces Byzantins, qui vivent dans un quartier occidental échappant désormais à l'autorité du *basileus*, sont près de cent cinquante à apparaître dans les actes notariés et les registres de la *Massaria*. Parmi eux, une grande variété de noms et d'origines: noms des grands saints honorés dans l'Église byzantine, patronymes, noms de métiers, sobriquets et noms d'origine se mélangent. Certains se disent habitants de Spiga ou de Lagirio, les deux bourgs de Péra récemment annexés par les Génois, d'autres viennent de Thessalonique, de Crète, de Chypre, de Varna, de Lemnos, d'Altologo et de Rhodes. La hiérarchie des fortunes est considérable: à côté d'un Nicolas Notaras qui s'est constitué un patrimoine mobilier en parts de la dette publique génoise et se qualifie de "bourgeois de Péra,"<sup>16</sup> d'un banquier, comme Manoli Frangalexi, qui vend des métaux précieux aux autorités de la Commune, les Grecs forment le petit peuple du comptoir, un monde d'artisans, de boutiquiers, de pêcheurs et d'ouvriers de

<sup>15</sup> Pero Tafur, *Andanzas y viajes*, éd. M. Letts (New York, 1926), 149.

<sup>16</sup> Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, I, 347-9.

l'arsenal.<sup>17</sup> Seul Nicolas Notaras paraît participer à la vie financière du comptoir, en affermant la taxe sur les courtiers.<sup>18</sup>

La population occidentale de Péra est mieux connue. Parmi les 416 noms identifiés, plus des trois quarts sont d'origine latine et, dans ce groupe, les Génois l'emportent de loin avec 61 pour cent des noms. Tous les groupes familiaux ou *alberghi* qui forment l'aristocratie génoise sont représentés: six Spinola, cinq Gambone, quatre Usodimare, quatre Vairolo, trois dell'Orto, trois Fieschi, deux Cigala, Ghisolfi, Grimaldi, Imperiale, Lercari, Lomellino, de Mari, et un seul Doria. Mais les nouvelles familles "populaires," qui se disputent le pouvoir à Gênes, sont absentes: aucun Adorno, Fregoso, Montaldo ne paraît dans les sources pérotes de la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Celles-ci mettent surtout en évidence l'influence de quelques grandes familles "coloniales," quasi inconnues dans les sources de la métropole,<sup>19</sup> et parmi elles, les de Draperiis et Demerode, qui tiennent le haut du pavé dans la vie politique et l'activité économique du comptoir génois. A côté de ces Génois ayant fait souche à Péra, les Ligures, venus surtout des bourgades des *Riviere*, représentent 24 pour cent des Occidentaux répertoriés.

Cette population latine est en effet durablement installée et manifeste un étonnant dynamisme. D'après les testaments, qui laissent toutefois dans l'ombre les filles ayant contracté mariage, beaucoup d'enfants parviennent à l'âge adulte dans ces grandes familles "coloniales": Corrado Donato a quatre enfants majeurs, trois fils se disputent l'héritage de leur père Filippo Demerode. Quant à Luchino de Draperiis, il laisse à sa mort deux filles, citées dans son testament, et six garçons, dont trois n'ont pas encore atteint leur majorité.<sup>20</sup> Leurs attaches avec la métropole se relâchent: quatre représentants sur six de la famille Spinola se disent "bourgeois de Péra," de même qu'un sixième des Ligures et un quart des Génois cités dans les actes notariés ou les comptes de la *Massaria* à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 270-2.

<sup>18</sup> ASG, Peire Massaria 1391, f. 169: il afferme 4 carats de la *tolta censarie* pour 916 hyperpères 16 carats.

<sup>19</sup> Aucun représentant de ces grandes familles ne figure dans les longs dépouillements effectués par F. Grillo, *Origine storica delle località e antichi cognomi della Repubblica di Genova* (Gênes, 1964), non plus que dans les actes réunis par L. Liagre de Sturler, *Les relations commerciales entre Gênes, la Belgique et l'Outremer, d'après les archives notariales génoises (1320-1400)*, 2 vol. (Rome, 1969), ou dans les registres douaniers publiés par J. Day, *Les douanes de Gênes 1376-1377*, 2 vol. (Paris, 1963).

<sup>20</sup> Balard et al., *Les Italiens*, 31, 41, 50.

notaire Donato di Chiavari prend grand soin de distinguer parmi ses clients les citoyens de Gênes des "bourgeois de Péra." Cette dernière dénomination désigne tous ceux dont la famille est établie à demeure depuis plusieurs générations. Il nous paraît incontestable que vers les années 1400 une société coloniale d'origine génoise s'est solidement implantée, tient en mains les destinées du comptoir et est bien résolue à faire valoir ses intérêts propres qui ne coïncident pas toujours avec ceux de la métropole.

Dans cette société d'outre-mer, se distinguent deux familles éminentes, les Demerode et les Draperio. La première se signale dès 1356: son chef, Filippo, est alors au service d'Orhan, bey des Ottomans, qui l'a recommandé auprès de la Commune de Gênes. Celle-ci fait part de ses bonnes intentions envers son ressortissant.<sup>21</sup> Filippo disparaît avant mars 1390, date à laquelle ses trois fils, Giovanni, Benedetto et Stefano, concluent une transaction au sujet de la succession de leur père.<sup>22</sup> La famille réside alors près de l'église Saint-François de Péra, où elle a fait construire une sacristie et une chapelle, sans doute pour abriter la sépulture de Filippo. Les fils ont reçu chacun la somme considérable de 20 000 hyperpères, en argent comptant ou en parts (*loca*) de la dette publique de Gênes et de Péra. Un verger au bourg de Spiga, deux maisons proches de la savonnerie complètent les éléments connus de la fortune familiale.

Deux documents, récemment retrouvés,<sup>23</sup> démontrent que la succession de Filippo Demerode fut rien moins qu'aisée. En mai 1392, les trois héritiers doivent en effet s'en remettre à l'arbitrage d'Andriolo di Negro pour trancher leurs différends portant sur la transaction acceptée en mars 1390. Stefano Demerode est alors condamné à payer à ses deux frères 125 livres de Gênes, ce qui le libère du versement annuel de 22 hyperpères 12 carats, prévu par l'acte de mars 1390. Il doit en outre verser dans les six jours 1 000 livres de Gênes, ou l'équivalent en parts de la dette publique, pour sa participation à la dot de sa belle-soeur Catalina, épouse de Giovanni. Ce dernier lui en accorde quittance, quatre jours plus tard, et accepte de dresser avec son frère Benedetto, alors en voyage entre Gênes et Péra, l'acte de vente de la moitié des maisons familiales qui reviennent à Stefano.

<sup>21</sup> Belgrano, "Prima serie," 125-6.

<sup>22</sup> Balard et al., *Les Italiens*, 41, n° 98.

<sup>23</sup> ASG, Not. Oberto Foglietta senior, n° 449, docs. 65 et 67. Je remercie Thierry Ganchoux de m'avoir communiqué cette information.



Les frères Demerode se signalent également par leur rôle dans la vie politique et financière du comptoir. Giovanni fait partie en 1390 de l'*Officium Guerre* et du Conseil des Huit Anciens de Péra, qui gère la destinée du comptoir, en accord avec le podestat. Il vend des armes à la Commune de Péra qui l'envoie en ambassade à Gênes en 1390–1391.<sup>24</sup> Il meurt avant avril 1402, date à laquelle le podestat Lodisio Bavoso empêche son frère Benedetto de recouvrer 200 hyperpères sur sa succession.<sup>25</sup> Le dit Benedetto prend à ferme la gabelle du vin, mais est banni en avril 1402, le podestat lui reprochant d'avoir quitté Péra pour Gênes, sans laisser une caution suffisante "pour payer comme les autres bourgeois de Péra les frais des galères de garde," alors que Benedetto avait offert en garantie ses propres créances sur la *Massaria* de Péra.<sup>26</sup> De fait, les trésoriers de 1402 se reconnaissent débiteurs de Benedetto pour une somme de 3 200 hyperpères, remboursable en huit annuités dès la fin de la guerre contre les Turcs.<sup>27</sup> Au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, les Demerode jouent encore un rôle actif dans la vie du comptoir: Filippo a reçu à Andrinople procuration d'un Ancônitaïn, Marcono de Nicolla, pour recouvrer un lot de caisses de savon lui appartenant.<sup>28</sup> Ce document, hélas isolé, illustre la pénétration des marchands pérotés dans l'univers ottoman. Benedetto, fils de Filippo, a avancé de l'argent à Lucas Notaras pour acheter des bombardes peu de temps avant le siège de la capitale par les Ottomans.

Tout aussi célèbre est la famille Draperio ou de Draperiis, qui a donné son nom à l'une des *contrade* de Péra, proche des églises Saint-François et Sainte-Marie. Le chef de la famille, Luchino, mort entre août 1386 et novembre 1389, avait épousé une Grecque de haute naissance, Jhera Paleologina, fille de Calojane Livadarios. En effet, depuis le mariage de Théodore Comnène Paléologue, fils de Michel VIII, avec une fille de Livadarios, *pinkernes* en 1272,<sup>29</sup> il était de tradition dans cette famille byzantine, très proche de la cour impériale, de donner aux filles le nom de la famille régnante. Jhera Paleologina avait apporté à Luchino une dot de 2 500 hyperpères et lui avait donné au moins deux filles et six garçons. Luchino possédait de grands biens à Péra, en particulier une grosse pièce de terre dans

<sup>24</sup> ASG, Peire Massaria 1391, f. 178; Peire Massaria 1390, f. 38<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> ASG, Sindicamenta Peire 1402, I, f. 41<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid., f. 43<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> ASG, Peire Massaria 1402, f. 24<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Roccatagliata, *Notai genovesi*, I, docs. n° 4 et 9.

<sup>29</sup> DPP, n° 14860 et 21464. A noter qu'un certain Livadarios est l'envoyé officiel du *basileus* auprès du podestat de Péra en 1402 (ASG, Sindicamenta Peire, I, f. 45<sup>v</sup>).

le bourg de Spiga, estimée 350 hyperpères, et qui rapportait 35 hyperpères par an. Il détenait en outre de nombreux *luoghi* des *com-pere* de Gênes, que sa veuve fit mettre en vente.

Parmi ses proches, deux se distinguent à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle. Son fils, Iane, est envoyé comme ambassadeur auprès de Bayezid, fils de Murad, et en obtient le renouvellement des traités passés avec la commune de Péra.<sup>30</sup> En 1390–1391, il se porte acquéreur aux enchères du quart de la perception du *commerchium* et de la moitié de la taxe sur les légumes et le grain. En 1402, ses héritiers sont comptés parmi les créanciers de la Commune qui ont prêté 34 838 hyperpères et 22 carats, pour l'armement d'une galère ayant servi aux opérations menées par Boucicault en Orient.<sup>31</sup> A cette même date, figurent trois autres Draperii dans la liste des créanciers: les héritiers de Giovanni, Alterixia et Lodisio. Giovanni, frère de Luchino, est parmi les plus actifs des "fermiers généraux" de Péra: il se porte acquéreur en 1390 de la gabelle du grain et de celle de l'huile; l'année suivante, d'un carat de la gabelle du vin, de deux carats du *commerchium* et de la taxe sur les courtages.<sup>32</sup> Il est l'un des quatre membres de l'*Officium Guerre* en 1390 et, en tant que protecteur de la Commune, gère avec l'un de ses collègues la dette publique de Péra.<sup>33</sup> Il disparaît avant 1402. A cette date, ses deux neveux, Lodisio et Lanzarotto, se signalent par leur déposition contre le podestat Lodisio Bavoso, accusé d'avoir extorqué 50 hyperpères à Lanzarotto, procureur de son frère, qui a omis de hisser sur son navire la bannière du roi de France, maître de Gênes.

La génération suivante est représentée par Francesco Draperio qui, depuis ses bureaux établis à Péra, a constitué un réseau d'affaires étendu à l'ensemble de la Méditerranée, et sur lequel le livre de comptes de Giacomo Badoer apporte une information substantielle. Nous savions que Francesco Draperio avait été de 1437 à 1447 l'un des fermiers de Phocée et avait réussi à établir un cartel de l'alun, contrôlant l'extraction et la commercialisation du produit depuis la côte anatolienne jusqu'en Flandre.<sup>34</sup> Entre le 13 octobre 1436 et le 30 avril 1439, Francesco Draperio est l'un des plus actifs clients ou

<sup>30</sup> Balard et al., *Les Italiens*, 33, n° 66.

<sup>31</sup> ASG, Peire Massaria 1391, f. 120; Peire Massaria 1390bis, f. 48; Peire Massaria 1402, f. 14<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> ASG, Peire Massaria 1391, fols. 11, 34 et 100.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, fols. 82, 126, 145 et 178.

<sup>34</sup> M.-L. Heers, "Les Génois et le commerce de l'alun à la fin du Moyen Age," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 32 (1954), 31–53.

fournisseurs de Badoer. En tant que banquier, il réalise 7,3 pour cent du chiffre d'affaires de sa profession (12 322 hyperpères, sur un total de 167 438).<sup>35</sup> En tant que marchand, Draperio, avec un chiffre de 3 333 hyperpères, arrive loin derrière ses compatriotes, Spinola ou Pallavicino, puisqu'il ne réalise que 4,3 pour cent du chiffre d'affaires des dix-huit plus gros marchands non-Vénitiens. Il est en relations d'affaires avec une dizaine de Génois, six Vénitiens, six Grecs, un Arménien, un Florentin, un Turc et un Juif. Il s'intéresse à toute forme de négoce: acheteur de draps pour 906 hyperpères, de soieries pour 370, d'un esclave pour 135 hyperpères et d'huile des Pouilles; vendeur de cire pour 178 hyperpères, de gingembre, de sucre, de cuivre et d'esclaves, pour des montants médiocres.<sup>36</sup> On s'étonne de ne voir transiter par Péra aucune cargaison d'alun, au moment même où Francesco Draperio est devenu le fermier de Phocée.

Il faut en fait le suivre jusqu'à Chio pour rencontrer le grand trafic de l'alun. Draperio passe en effet constamment d'un centre d'affaires à l'autre. A Chio, il est représenté par Cristoforo et Geronimo Giustiniani qui ont tout pouvoir de négocier les quantités d'alun requises par les acheteurs. C'est ainsi que le 19 juin 1449 Cristoforo Giustiniani, agissant en tant que procureur de Francesco, affrète la nef "Sainte-Marie Bonaventure," appartenant à Leonello Italiano, pour transporter 10 300 cantares d'alun blanc menu jusqu'en Flandre, au taux de 22 sous de Gênes par cantare, l'affrèteur ayant néanmoins la possibilité de faire escale à Gênes et d'y décharger la marchandise. Deux semaines plus tard, c'est au tour de Geronimo Giustiniani de représenter Francesco Draperio, lors de la rédaction d'un contrat de nolisement, portant sur 1 500 cantares d'alun, au taux de 21 sous de fret par cantare, de Chio jusqu'à l'Ecluse.<sup>37</sup> En 1452, Francesco Draperio est présent à Chio où il reconnaît avoir reçu de Paride Giustiniani et de ses associés 400 pièces de drap de

<sup>35</sup> M. M. Šitikov, "Konstantinopol' i venecijskaja trgovlja v pervoj polovine XV v. po dannym knigi ščetov Djakomo Badoera, Delovye krugi Konstantinopolja (Constantinople et le commerce vénitien dans la première moitié du XV<sup>e</sup> s., d'après les données du livre de comptes de Giacomo Badoer)," *VV* 30 (1969), 48-62.

<sup>36</sup> Sur le commerce des esclaves chez Badoer, voir notre article "Giacomo Badoer et le commerce des esclaves," dans *Milieus naturels. Espaces sociaux. Etudes offertes à Robert Delort* (Paris, 1997), 555-64.

<sup>37</sup> ASG Notai, n° 847, doc. n° C et CXIII/1. Je remercie Laura Balletto de m'avoir indiqué ces documents.

Gênes, pour les porter à Andrinople. A cette date, Francesco détient encore la concession des alunières, dont il sollicitera la confirmation auprès du sultan. En cas de succès Paride Giustiniani se retrouvera débiteur de Francesco, ce qui signifie qu'il devait être intéressé lui aussi à l'exploitation de l'alun de Phocée.<sup>38</sup>

Draperio avait en effet établi d'excellentes relations avec le sultan, dès avant la conquête de Constantinople. Cyriaque d'Ancône nous rapporte l'entrevue qu'il eut auprès de Murad II à Andrinople en février 1444, en compagnie de Draperio venu offrir de riches présents au Grand Turc. Par l'intermédiaire de Draperio, avec lequel il se rend à Magnésie en avril 1446, Cyriaque obtient du sultan un sauf-conduit lui accordant la liberté de circulation dans les territoires ottomans d'Asie Mineure. Les deux Latins accompagnent ensuite le sultan Murad dans son voyage de retour en Thrace. Ces bonnes relations subsistent avec Mehmed II. C'est au nom de Draperio que Hamza Beg, amiral du sultan, veut forcer la Mahone de Chio à payer 40 000 ducats au cours de l'été 1455, sous le prétexte que la somme est due à Draperio.<sup>39</sup> L'échec de l'escadre ottomane devant Chio pousse le sultan à venger cet affront en s'emparant des deux Phocée. On ne sait si Draperio se trouvait encore à Péra, où, quelques mois après la chute de Constantinople, un notaire génois instrumentait tranquillement sur le seuil de sa maison et de celle de son gendre, Tommaso Spinola.<sup>40</sup> A cette évocation, on mesure le chemin parcouru par les Draperio en moins d'un siècle: alliés à une riche famille byzantine dans les années 1380, ils se sont rapprochés du sultan, au point de franchir sans encombre la période de difficile transition entre l'empire byzantin et la domination exclusive des Ottomans et même de demander aux Ottomans de soutenir leurs intérêts face à leurs propres compatriotes. Détachés de la métropole, ils représentent assez bien la fraction supérieure d'une société "coloniale" portée à pactiser avec les nouveaux maîtres.

Ces deux exemples permettent peut-être de mesurer les phénomènes d'acculturation. D'une part, la culture et les pratiques occidentales pénètrent largement la haute société byzantine. Le *studium* de Péra

<sup>38</sup> Ph. P. Argenti, *The occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their administration of the island 1346-1566*, 3 vol. (Cambridge, 1968), III, 658-9.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., I, 208 et F. Babinger, *Mahomet II le Conquérant et son temps (1432-1481)* (Paris, 1954), 44, 61, 160-4.

<sup>40</sup> Roccatagliata, *Notai genovesi*, 145, doc. n° 57.

fait connaître les Pères de l'Église latine et le thomisme: les noms de Cydonès et de Calécas sont suffisamment connus pour que l'on n'insiste pas sur le rôle de Péra dans le rapprochement des deux Églises.<sup>41</sup> Le dynamisme commercial des Génois fait des émules chez les Grecs: Manuel Cabasilas conduit à Gênes les nefs du *basileus* chargées de grain, tandis que la famille Notaras place de l'argent dans les parts de la dette publique génoise.<sup>42</sup> L'on peut d'ailleurs suivre jusqu'à l'orée du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle les vicissitudes de la fortune mobilière des Notaras, qui subsiste bien au-delà de l'exécution du chef de famille en 1453.<sup>43</sup>

Il est sans doute plus difficile de suivre la progressive "orientalisation" de la société pérote. L'enracinement dans un milieu hellénique, les mariages mixtes décelables dans toutes les couches de la société, la vie quotidienne surtout, faite de relations d'affaires ou de voisinage, ont sans doute joué un rôle décisif, de même que les changements constatés au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle dans la composition de la population du comptoir: moins de Ligures des *Riviere* et d'Italiens de la plaine du Pô ou du Mezzogiorno, quasi disparition des non-Italiens, mais renforcement après 1453 des Génois anciennement établis dans les autres comptoirs d'Orient, Chio, Phocée, Mytilène, Samastri, Vicina et surtout Caffa et Soldaïa. Dans la seconde moitié du siècle, la proportion de "bourgeois de Péra" s'élève, comme s'il s'agissait pour les anciens résidents génois d'affirmer leur identité propre, face à leurs compatriotes d'Occident: un désir de se distinguer, mais qui ne résiste pas à une inéluctable absorption dans le milieu cosmopolite de la capitale ottomane.<sup>44</sup>

Tout se passe en effet comme si, pour la société pérote, l'événement de 1453 ne constituait en rien une rupture. Certes, les "bourgeois de Péra" ont formé l'année précédente un *Officium Balie super rebus Teucrorum*, pour mettre en défense leur comptoir. Certains d'entre eux—74 noms, tant de *cives* que de *burgenses*, sont cités dans un document du 14 avril et 58 noms dans un autre du 1<sup>er</sup> mai 1452<sup>45</sup>—

<sup>41</sup> R.-J. Loenertz, "Démétrius Cydonès," *OCP* 36 (1970), 47-72 et 37 (1971), 5-39.

<sup>42</sup> Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, II, 758 et I, 347-9; K.-P. Matschke, "The Notaras Family and its Italian Connections," *DOP* 49 (1995), 64-5.

<sup>43</sup> Recherches en cours par Th. Ganchou.

<sup>44</sup> Roccatagliata, *Notai genovesi*; G. Pistarino, "La caduta di Costantinopoli: da Pera genovese a Galata turca," *Genovesi d'Oriente* (Gênes, 1990), 281-382.

<sup>45</sup> ASG, Notaio Paolo Recco, f. 7, qui transcrit le 16 octobre 1460 deux actes du notaire Nicolò di Torriglia.

ont prêté de l'argent pour recruter cent mercenaires à Chio et affréter des navires; tous les hommes valides ont été envoyés par le podestat sur les murs de Constantinople. Mais, bien vite, constatant l'inutilité de la résistance, les Pérotes prennent contact avec le sultan. Le podestat, Angelo Lomellini, lui envoie les clefs de sa ville, dès le 29 mai, brisant ainsi le lien juridique entre la Commune de Gênes et sa colonie.<sup>46</sup> Trois jours plus tard, par un acte gracieux, Mehmed II accorde à la communauté pérote un firman, à l'origine de la formation de la "magnifique communauté de Péra," noyau avancé de l'Occident latin au sein du nouvel empire ottoman.

Et, de fait, rien ne change dans les relations sociales et la vie quotidienne. Dès l'été 1453, les affaires reprennent; les procurations échangées cherchent à régulariser des liens économiques que la conquête ottomane est venue troubler. Loin de fuir la nouvelle domination ottomane, les Génois reviennent en nombre pour ne pas perdre leurs biens que le sultan a garantis à ceux qui restent, ou tout simplement parce qu'en dehors de Péra, ils n'ont pas de moyens de vivre. Les collines de Galata leur sont plus familières que la lointaine Ligurie qui, pour beaucoup d'entre eux, nés sur les rives du Bosphore, n'est qu'une terre étrangère. Les actes notariés postérieurs à 1453 nous mettent en présence de nombreux noms de grandes familles, rameaux des *alberghi* génois durablement expatriés, et de tout un monde de boutiquiers, d'artisans, de banquiers, de notaires, qui, après 1475 reçoit le renfort des réfugiés de Caffa. En 1477, le recensement ottoman dénombre 535 maisons turques à Galata, mais surtout 572 maisons chrétiennes.<sup>47</sup>

Est-ce à dire que la continuité l'emporte? En fait, la société pérote se transforme: elle devient moins génoise et davantage florentine et vénitienne. La "magnifique communauté de Péra," qui à son origine cherchait à garder un semblant d'autonomie au sein de l'empire ottoman, ne peut résister à un lent processus d'assimilation. Du point de vue économique, démographique, urbanistique et culturel, Péra cesse d'être au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle un corps étranger dans la capitale ottomane. Il ne subsiste plus que quelques pans de murs et le caractère altier de la tour du Christ pour rappeler qu'y résidèrent pendant deux siècles de domination exclusive les "maîtres de la mer."

<sup>46</sup> G. Olgiati, "Angelo Giovanni Lomellino: Attività politica e mercantile dell'ultimo podestà di Pera," *La Storia dei Genovesi* 9 (1989), 139-96, 168.

<sup>47</sup> Pistarino, "La caduta di Costantinopoli," 365.



SECTION EIGHT  
CONSTRUCTION WORKERS AND BUILDING ACTIVITY  
IN LATE BYZANTINE CONSTANTINOPLE





CHAPTER TWENTY

BUILDERS AND BUILDING IN  
LATE BYZANTINE CONSTANTINOPLE

Klaus-Peter Matschke

The two centuries of Palaiologan rule in Constantinople were no golden age of urban construction. The external impression which Constantinople left on its inhabitants and even more on visitors to the city was at best contradictory, and sometimes catastrophic. Large urban areas remained undeveloped and uninhabited. The existing building stock was outdated. Many buildings were practically in ruins and could only be partly used, if at all. In fact, the discrepancy between the city's aspirations and reality was hardly ever greater than in the late Byzantine period.

Nevertheless, building work was continuously underway in the city, and there were even spells of intensive, concentrated construction activity. The main bout occurred after the reconquest of the old capital from the Latins in 1261, when Michael VIII, the first Palaiologan emperor, and other Byzantine aristocrats returning with him from exile in Asia Minor vied with each other in their efforts to restore the city's former splendor, reputation and appearance. In addition to temporarily repairing or even fully restoring the long-standing churches, monasteries, palaces and other monuments which had suffered during Latin rule, they also constructed imposing new religious and secular buildings. This enabled Michael VIII (r. 1261–1282) to be celebrated as the New Constantine, and it even prompted him to readopt the practice of erecting emperors' columns (which had been abandoned for centuries) and crowning the new edifice dedicated to him with a larger-than-life bronze statue.<sup>1</sup>

The construction program of his son Andronikos II (r. 1282–1328) was expressly geared towards preserving the existing building stock,

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<sup>1</sup> See R. Macrides, "The New Constantine and the New Constantinople—1261?," *BMGS* 6 (1980), 13–41; A.-M. Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," *DOP* 47 (1993), 243–61, esp. 258 ff.

towards restoration and renovation instead of expansion and new construction.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the work performed during his reign to repair and renovate various central churches, in particular the Hagia Sophia cathedral, as well as to improve the city walls was quite remarkable.

Incidentally, building work by the empire's aristocracy in the regained imperial capital appears to have reached its peak under the second Palaiologos,<sup>3</sup> and the favorable building climate in his reign may also be expressed by the fact that not only Byzantine subjects but also foreigners planned and implemented construction projects in Constantinople.<sup>4</sup> During the period of strife between the Palaiologoi and the Kantakouzenoi around the middle of the fourteenth century, measures were taken by a number of emperors, rival claimants to the imperial crown, and regents to preserve the Hagia Sophia, which had been badly damaged by an earthquake in 1346.<sup>5</sup> The last phase of the reign of emperor John V in the latter half of the same century was dominated by intensive activity to turn the Golden Gate into an independent town fortification, and then by the subsequent demolition of these fortifications under pressure of the Ottoman sultan Bayezid I because they ran counter to his intention of conquering the Byzantine capital.<sup>6</sup>

Just how great the construction boom was in Constantinople following the city's miraculous relief from Bayezid's siege by the defeat of the Ottomans near Ankara in 1402 cannot be stated exactly. Although doubtlessly incomparable with the early Palaiologan era, it can be demonstrated or assumed that various aristocratic residences complete with fortified towers, along with a number of monasteries and charitable institutions, were built or enlarged at this time. The final decades of Constantinople as the Byzantine capital were much influenced by diverse efforts to strengthen the city walls and

<sup>2</sup> Gregoras VII.12: I, pp. 206 f.

<sup>3</sup> Talbot, "Restoration," 257. In general for the building works in the capital up to the death of Andronikos II, see Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*. See also the contribution of A.-M. Talbot to this volume.

<sup>4</sup> See M. Živojinović, "Bolnica kralja Milutina u Carigradu," *ZRV* 16 (1975), 105–17, and U. B. Birchler-Argyros, "Die Quellen zum Kral-Spital in Konstantinopel," *Gesnerus* 45 (1988), 419–44.

<sup>5</sup> See I. Ševčenko, "Notes on Stephen, The Novgorodian Pilgrim to Constantinople in the 14th Century," *Südostforschungen* 12 (1953), 171 f.

<sup>6</sup> K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz* (Weimar, 1981), 78.

to fortify and renew the city's ports and quays,<sup>7</sup> for which Byzantine labor, materials and money were augmented by foreign aid. Although in the end not even the walls surrounding Constantinople were able to save the Byzantine emperor and his empire from collapse, they and a small number of other surviving structures in the city continue to testify the skill and endeavors of the final generations of Byzantine master builders, building craftsmen, and laborers up to the present day.

In order to build in Constantinople, both building land and permission were required. Occasionally, and owing to the circumstances, the allocation of building land appears to have been tied to an obligation to build. A fair number of Michael VIII's aristocratic entourage were able to assert legal claims to the ownership of buildings and land in Constantinople following their move to the regained Byzantine capital, while others received properties that had been left vacant by their Latin owners who fled or were driven out of the city. However, the amount of housing which became available in this manner was very limited. The only option for many other newcomers who wanted or were expected to settle permanently was the provision of plots of land for building purposes, which as a rule they had to rent, but which were sometimes at least unburdened by taxes. This was probably the case concerning the Tzakones who arrived from the Peloponnese, as well as other new inhabitants of the capital who were retained for military duties.<sup>8</sup>

Unfortunately, we do not know whether deadlines were set for house construction, whether certain conditions for building were imposed, or even whether under certain circumstances building materials were provided. Nevertheless, we have a few concrete details contained in the notes written by an anonymous author who, together with his family, accompanied Michael VIII on his move to Constantinople. At first the writer was allocated the house of an Anconitan. Later he also received land for building near the property of a *domestikos*, who is mentioned by name but is otherwise unknown. It

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<sup>7</sup> See S. Runciman, *Die Eroberung von Konstantinopel 1453* (Munich, 1966); G. Makris, *Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Schifffahrt* (Geneva, 1988).

<sup>8</sup> See K.-P. Matschke, "Grund- und Hauseigentum in und um Konstantinopel in spätbyzantinischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1984/IV), 106 ff.

seems that several houses were built on this land at the outset of April 1267, hence in a very short time; if this was a new family residence, it can hardly have had a very prestigious appearance. The author's father-in-law (unnamed) had had makeshift repair work carried out on a church at an unknown location in the city shortly after their return; later, in 1265/66, this church underwent thorough refurbishment and was newly decorated by an apparently famous artist. The author of these notes was evidently more than just a simple immigrant; according to P. Schreiner he unquestionably belonged to the circle of dignitaries and court officials,<sup>9</sup> who in the years following 1261 endeavored to construct and restore secular and sacred buildings out of personal interest and perhaps in agreement with the imperial court, and who also acquired new proprietary titles and possibly *ktetor's* rights as well. However, both their building projects and gain in prestige appear to have remained within modest limits for the period documented.

The success or failure of construction projects hinged not only on the allocation or confiscation of building land, but also on the observance of the building regulations of Constantinople. Various examples substantiate the fact that these regulations (or at least some of them) were still valid in the late Byzantine era and were enforced in practice. For instance, when shortly after 1296 the learned monk Maximos Planoudes interceded with the *exisotes* of the capital, N. Autoreianos, for a newly built and furnished church in the Vlanga quarter, he asked him to make sure that no secular buildings or any other churches be constructed too close to this house of God dedicated to St. John Prodromos. He also requested that Autoreianos prevent the neighboring settlement of Jewish tanners from expanding any further and preclude thereby the possibility of a synagogue being built on the church's doorstep. Planoudes chiefly backed up his requests with the argument that in accordance with urban custom churches were not supposed to be too close to one another, and that neither the patron saint of the church nor the believers inhabiting the quarter would want to be disturbed by the odor from the tanners.<sup>10</sup> He was quite obviously alluding to certain building

<sup>9</sup> P. Schreiner, "Die topographische Notiz über Konstantinopel in der Pariser Suda-Handschrift. Eine Neuinterpretation," in *ΑΕΤΟΣ. Studies in honour of Cyril Mango*, eds. I. Ševčenko and I. Hutter (Stuttgart-Leipzig, 1998), 273–83.

<sup>10</sup> *Maximi monachis Planudis epistulae*, ed. P. A. M. Leone (Amsterdam, 1991), no. 31, pp. 62 ff.

regulations still in force in the city at this time and tried to use them for his own purposes.

In his speech at the official opening of the Anastasios church restored by his father, the *meγas logothetes* Constantine Akropolites declared that for construction projects of this scale, special ἐπιστάται τοῦ ἔργου were called in and employed, who received the necessary money from the client's accountants known as ὑπογραμματεῖς with monthly intermediate accounts.<sup>11</sup> In her translation of the relevant passage from the speech, A.-M. Talbot uses the term "supervisors of the project."<sup>12</sup> These are very likely to have been the late Byzantine version of the *ergolaboi* attested in earlier times (regarded by the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* as managers, who had functioned as middlemen between clients and construction workers).<sup>13</sup> A few of these position holders in late Byzantine Constantinople are known by name. As early as 1261, the monk Rouchas was appointed by Michael VIII to supervise and organize the initial restoration work at Hagia Sophia, which was financed by the emperor and covered in particular the bema, solea and ambo of the church, as well as the procurement of various items needed for orthodox church affairs.<sup>14</sup> When in 1346 the Great Church was badly damaged by an earthquake, the regent Anna of Savoy entrusted the *protostrator* Phakeolatos with organizing the first damage repairs, especially concerning the large hall, the stoa, portico and bema.<sup>15</sup> It is also conceivable that the emperor Constantine XI's advisor and financier, Manuel Palaiologos Iagaris, held a similar function in the final phase of the empire in the efforts to repair and fortify the city walls.<sup>16</sup> Various inscriptions on the walls bear witness to Iagaris' not completely unsuccessful efforts, thus casting doubt on the subsequent accusations that he merely lined his own pocket and lost sight of his actual responsibilities. The appointment of ἐπιστάται is also demonstrable for other late Byzantine construction projects, yet specific names are not mentioned in these cases.

<sup>11</sup> H. Delehaye, "Constantini Acropolitae, hagiographi byzantini, epistularum manipulus," *AnBoll* 51 (1933), 263-84, esp. 280.

<sup>12</sup> Talbot, "Restoration," 256.

<sup>13</sup> See art. "Building Industry," in *ODB* I, 331.

<sup>14</sup> Pachym. III.2, ed. Bekker, I, 172 f.

<sup>15</sup> *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri quattuor*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols. (Bonn, 1828-32), IV.4: III, p. 30 (hereafter *Kantakouzenos*).

<sup>16</sup> The available evidence concerning him is collected in *PLP*, no. 92054.

The Latin inhabitants in and around the late Byzantine capital appear to have organized large building projects in the same or at least a similar manner, too. In 1446 Byzantine and Venetian authorities and representatives agreed to build a secure, fortified quay on the capital's side of the Golden Horn in order to make themselves independent of the Genoese quays in Pera. After settling the question of building materials and costs, it was decided that the Venetian *bayulus* should seek

*unam personam . . . que sibi idonea videatur et sufficiens pro superstribus [sic!] predictis palificatis que debeat sollicitare Magistris, et omnia facere circa premissa que per ipsum Dominum Bayulum committentur eidem, qui superstes hic debeat pro salario in mense yperpera sex, vel plura, seu pauciora pro ut melius ipse se posset concordare et hoc quousque dicte palificate cum effectu laborabuntur.<sup>17</sup>*

This *superstes*, who must be the same as the ἐπιστάτης of the Greek texts, was thus expected to be someone with a certain aptitude concerning the organization and supervision of the works. In particular, he was supposed to recruit the *magistri* (master builders) and explain to them what had to be done; in all other respects he had to follow his clients' specifications to the letter concerning the type and extent of the construction work. A fixed salary was envisaged for his services until the opening up of the new port.

Whether the Venetian colonial authorities actually found a suitable person who was up to the responsibilities involved to supervise the construction work in 1446 unfortunately cannot be ascertained. Yet the Greek reports provide at least a few personal details and characteristics concerning the late Byzantine building supervisors who are known by name. For example, Georgios Pachymeres was able to call the monk Rouchas an ἄνδρα δραστήριον.<sup>18</sup> In relation to Phakeolatos, the supervisor of the restoration work at Hagia Sophia after 1346, John Kantakouzenos informs us that he had previously been appointed by the regent Anna to conduct a naval expedition to the Aegean. Following the change of government in 1347, John Kantakouzenos himself called on the services of Phakeolatos for various engineering tasks, including in particular the work of building up and equipping the navy, which, however, shamefully collapsed in

<sup>17</sup> Ch. A. Maltezos, *Ὁ θεσμός τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βενετοῦ βαΐλου (1268–1453)* (Athens, 1970), 193 f.; Makris, *Studien*, 180.

<sup>18</sup> Pachym. III.2, ed. Bekker, I, 172 f.

1348 during a conflict with the Genoese even before the first contact with the enemy.<sup>19</sup> Whereas the former-emperor-turned-chronicler restricted his information to these mere snippets, Phakeolatos was described by Nikephoros Gregoras in somewhat more detail as a wealthy but not very well respected man, who was able to manage successfully diverse affairs. Gregoras finally called him δραστήριος, employing the same term Pachymeres used for the monk Rouchas.<sup>20</sup>

This adjective is basically used to describe all forms of resolute, practical action, not least in a military sense. In the late Byzantine sources, however, a certain restriction to the economic and technical spheres seems to occur, the original broader meaning becoming reduced to entrepreneurial activity.<sup>21</sup> The prototype of this bustling profit-seeking, by which Gregoras expressly judged Phakeolatos too, is characteristically the *meḡas doux* Alexios Apokaukos, who gained political stature and rose to prominence in society via the business of taxation. He demonstrated the education required for such advancement by acquiring medical knowledge, and also built and commanded fleets using his own and state funds. Apokaukos' other activities included the construction of an amphibian castle on the coastline near the capital, in which he then hoarded great riches; efforts to reactivate a Byzantine customs post on the Bosphoros; and, as city governor, taking care of the fortification of the city walls as well as being in charge of a court in the city which largely dealt with business lawsuits.<sup>22</sup> Judging by this economic understanding of the term, construction supervision could thus be mainly regarded as a managerial activity, for which technical skill was certainly desirable but not essential, and which perhaps even had or could have had an entrepreneurial dimension, but which at any rate cannot be reduced to the status of simple salaried employment, although fixed payment by state or private clients was common and even customary.

As far as the actual builders themselves are concerned, in view of the lack or at least rarity of large, prestigious construction projects in late Byzantine Constantinople, it must be assumed that, despite

<sup>19</sup> Kantakouzenos IV.10,11,26: III, pp. 63, 74, 195.

<sup>20</sup> Gregoras XV.7: II, p. 766.

<sup>21</sup> In a study on social groups in late Byzantium undertaken in collaboration with F. Tinnefeld, I am going to analyze these nuances of meaning.

<sup>22</sup> In addition to the expression of Gregoras, Apokaukos is called δραστήριος by Philotheos of Selymbria, *Encomium on H. Agathonikos*, ed. P. Magdalino, "Byzantine Churches of Selymbria," *DOP* 32 (1978), 311.



their large numbers, they ranked on the whole relatively low in society. They were mainly simple master bricklayers and master carpenters, who together with their clients planned and built simple dwellings, commercial premises, stores, stables and other buildings for animals. Nevertheless, in this period, too, there were differences among them in terms of qualifications and specialization. The restoration work at Hagia Sophia which emperor Andronikos II undertook after 1317, using funds belonging to his deceased wife, was recommended to him by respected building experts (παρὰ τῶν δοκίμων οἰκοδόμων) as they had found the church to be in danger of collapse.<sup>23</sup> As mentioned above, the extensive restoration program for the Great Church, which lasted several years following its partial collapse during the 1346 earthquake, was at first headed and supervised by the *protostrator* Phakeolatos. However, technical responsibility was borne for a longer period (if not the whole time) by two experts, one of whom was a Byzantine subject and the other of Catalan origin: Georgios Synadenos Astras and Giovanni Peralta. The *meγas stratopedarches* Astras is on this occasion described by Kantakouzenos as a man warranting many words of praise and περὶ οἰκοδομίας ἔχων εὐφρωῶς, as a talented master builder, with whom the *meγas droungarios* τῆς βίγλης Peralta from the imperial entourage competed in fulfilling the assigned tasks.<sup>24</sup> According to R. Ousterhout, these two men probably carried out the greatest architectural achievements of this period.<sup>25</sup> The fact that in 1352 they collegially exercised the office of city governor<sup>26</sup> is remarkable, as this may be an additional indication of the status granted to the restoration project by those in power. Whereas Peralta disappeared from the Byzantine scene with the fall of Kantakouzenos, Astras was still active as a master builder in the late 1350s and the early 1360s, though not in the capital Constantinople but on the island of Lesbos, where his family had a large estate.

<sup>23</sup> Gregoras VII.12: I, p. 273.

<sup>24</sup> Kantakouzenos IV.4: III, p. 30.

<sup>25</sup> R. Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments in Later Palaeologan Architecture," in *The Twilight of Byzantium*, eds. S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki (Princeton, 1991), 77. The Italian descent of Peralta, supposed by Ousterhout, is corrected and precisely stated by A. Luttrell, "John Cantacuzenos and the Catalans at Constantinople: 1352–1354," in *Latin Greece, The Hospitallers and the Crusades, 1291–1421* (London, 1982), no. IX, 273 f.

<sup>26</sup> See K.-P. Matschke, "Rolle und Aufgaben des Gouverneurs von Konstantinopel in der Palaiologenzeit," *Byzantinobulgarica* 3 (1970), 81–101.

Corresponding to the nature of the construction work and type of building material, the skilled building workers (τέκτονες) can be divided mainly into bricklayers and carpenters, οἰκοδόμοι καὶ λεπτοουργοὶ τεχνίται.<sup>27</sup> The carpenters' tools are described by the poet Manuel Philes as a knife, drill, axe, saw, and σπαρτιὸν κόκκινον ἐκ γῆς ὄστράκων,<sup>28</sup> the latter being perhaps a piece of red brick to mark their work. Bricklayers' trowels are only mentioned in an early fifteenth-century court decision from Thessalonike,<sup>29</sup> although late Byzantine sources do report on bricklayers' individual operations in the capital such as plastering a building and rendering the walls with mortar.<sup>30</sup> Occasionally, other construction craftsmen are mentioned, including stonemasons who processed raw material and lined walls.<sup>31</sup> One special group of workers may have performed preparatory labor, such as clearing the site and digging foundations.<sup>32</sup> These might belong to the people repeatedly mentioned in the late Byzantine sources as ὅσοι σκαπάνης καὶ δικέλλης ἀπόζουσι<sup>33</sup> who probably correspond to the *fossores* occasionally mentioned in the Latin sources among the inhabitants and groups of inhabitants of Constantinople.<sup>34</sup> In 1328 skilled building workers belonged to the groups of ten, who were called in on a neighborly basis to guard the city walls, and who took advantage of their shift duty on a moonlit night to allow the young emperor Andronikos III to penetrate the city via their section of the wall.<sup>35</sup> During the fourteenth century, skilled building workers took part in various military operations conducted by the

<sup>27</sup> See the appointment form for a *palatophylax* edited in: K. N. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* VI (Venice-Paris, 1877), no. 12, p. 643.

<sup>28</sup> *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, II (Paris, 1857), 182; cf. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*: σπαρτιὸν κόκκινον = *funis coccineus*; σπάριος τεκτονική = *fabrorum funiculus*.

<sup>29</sup> F. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern des Heiligen Berges* (Munich, 1948), 247 (no. 102); see further p. 267. In this text are also mentioned three tubs of shells as building material (p. 267) and one and a half σπαρτίας (ibid.), translated by Dölger as breadth of bed ("Beetbreite"), i.e. he assumes it to be a measure of length meaning thread or string.

<sup>30</sup> H. Hunger, *Johannes Chortasmenos (ca. 1370–ca. 1436/37). Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften* (Vienna, 1969), 166.

<sup>31</sup> *Duca Michaelis Ducae nepotis historia byzantina*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1834), XII.3, p. 75.

<sup>32</sup> These works are described by Akropolites, ed. Delchaye, 280. It is completely uncertain whether a survey of the building land and the foundations was usual practice. The texts and commentaries in J. Lefort, *Géometries du fisc byzantin* (Paris, 1991) do not give any positive hint.

<sup>33</sup> Gregoras VII.8: I, p. 256.

<sup>34</sup> See (Pseudo-) Brocardus, *Directorium ad Passagium faciendum*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades, Documents arméniens* II (Paris, 1906), 455.

<sup>35</sup> Gregoras IX.6: I, p. 419; Kantakouzenos I.56: I, p. 292.

capital's population against the Genoese colony on the other side of the Bosphoros, as well as against western shipping convoys in the ports of the city and the waters outside it.<sup>36</sup> They were thus unquestionably a social force to be reckoned with by rulers in the city and by imperial policy.

Small building projects were generally performed by a master craftsman (μάστορης) together with one or more apprentices (μαθητάδες).<sup>37</sup> By contrast, for larger construction projects such as the erection of a quay in 1446, several master builders were employed, who then presumably worked with their apprentices. Unlike other professions, no mention is to be found of παῖδες or *pueri*, i.e. journeymen, in connection with the late Byzantine construction sector. However, τεχνίται, who differed as a group from the simple ἐργάται, crop up in the sources several times.<sup>38</sup> Master craftsmen<sup>39</sup> and clerks of works,<sup>40</sup> as well as probably even employed craftsmen,<sup>41</sup> were able to work as *technitai*, a term which thus covers all trained builders irrespective of the internal hierarchy. There existed in Constantinople perhaps a larger number of such building *mastores*, surrounded by their apprentices, employed craftsmen and, in case of necessity, by unskilled laborers, for ordinary building activity. And for greater projects there might have been some short-lived, unstable associations of several *mastores*, maybe with a *protomastor* or an *architekton* at the head, but definitely no continuously working corporate system.<sup>42</sup>

However, certain forms of state control over builders and the state disposition over their appointment were probably still functional in the late Byzantine period. The collection of deployment forms published by K. Sathas for various officials, some of which date from the middle Byzantine period but were still in use in late Byzantium,

<sup>36</sup> Gregoras XVII.3 f.: II, pp. 850, 854.

<sup>37</sup> See H. Hunger and K. Vogel, *Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Vienna, 1963), 56 ff.

<sup>38</sup> See esp. Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 270.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 267: the self-employed building craftsman/master Andreas Kampanares ὡς τεχνίτης is charged with several works by the entrepreneur family Argyropoulos, and he for his part uses skilled as well as unskilled laborers.

<sup>40</sup> Hunger-Vogel, *Rechenbuch*, 18: a τεχνίτης gets order to build a house and takes the offers of several masters, who calculate rather different times of work.

<sup>41</sup> Dölger, *Aus den Schatzkammern*, 267: the οἰκονόμος and τεχνίτης Kampanares employs other τεχνίται for a received building order.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. N. Oikonomidès, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Montreal-Paris, 1979), 111 f.

contains a text that deals with the nomination of a *παλατοφύλαξ* and sets out his areas of responsibility. This official was responsible for maintaining, repairing, and safeguarding in all other respects the God-protected palaces of Constantinople. For this purpose he also received powers of disposal and command over the bricklayers and carpenters to be found in the city and living in it. He had to make sure that there were enough people working in the various fields of construction and urge them to offer their necessary, useful services to the emperor. In return, he is said to have received from them what was “customary and decreed,” in addition to the obedience, respect and gratitude his predecessors in office testify to having received from the builders.<sup>43</sup>

The first question which begs an answer is the nature of the function for which the deployment form was prepared. According to M. C. Bartusis, the *palatophylax* had the same task as the *kastrophylax* in the towns and fortresses of the empire; this chiefly refers to the maintenance and expansion of the existing building stock, walls and palaces, as well as the supervision of the workers who repaired, renewed and expanded them.<sup>44</sup> But he may (at least under certain circumstances) also have been something more, namely a type of palace architect of the late Byzantine capital.<sup>45</sup> Unfortunately, only one *palatophylax* is known as a person and by name from the entire Palaiologan era. Nevertheless, the fact that he acted as an assessor during the sale of a house in 1400 indicates he was an expert in the building sector.<sup>46</sup>

One remarkable aspect is that the palace guard in the deployment form was responsible not only for supervising and appointing building workers in the capital, but also for ensuring that there were sufficient construction capacities there. His duties thus extended to both the current and the future generation of builders, and making up for any shortfall. The aforementioned passage from Manuel Philes’ poem about τὸς τέκτονας δὲ τὸς κεκανονισμένους<sup>47</sup> might make sense in this context by suggesting that formal approval was perhaps required

<sup>43</sup> Sathas, *Μεσαιωνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη* VI, 643 (no. 12).

<sup>44</sup> M. C. Bartusis, “Urban Guard Service in Late Byzantium: The Terminology and the Institution,” *Macedonian Studies* V/2 (1988), 52–77, esp. 58.

<sup>45</sup> See S. Faroqhi, *Kultur und Alltag im Osmanischen Reich* (Munich, 1995), 148 ff. for the situation in the early Ottoman period.

<sup>46</sup> MM II, 453.

<sup>47</sup> *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, ed. Miller, II, 182.

to practise the profession of a building worker, and that this approval was registered somewhere to keep track of the current number of workers in the construction sector.

Although indications concerning special public services are lacking, it is likely, and indeed would have been only natural, that the builders—along with the other city dwellers—were called upon to pay voluntary special taxes and occasionally to take part in maintaining the defences of Constantinople. This was the case, for instance, when the port of Kontoskalion reserved for war ships had to be cleaned under emperor John VIII (r. 1425–1448). The sand which had built up in the port was cleared and carried away by special machines and using special buckets without watertight bottoms. Given the nature of the work involved, a large number of people with draught animals took part in it. However, they performed their simple or combined work not for free, but in return for a payment. The ordained priests and deacons were an exception to this rule. Yet in addition to these clerics, numerous monks from monasteries inside the city and in its suburbs, and even the entire clergy of the Patriarchate with the patriarch himself at their head, participated in this laborious work. As with all large building projects, this work was headed by some *ἐπιστατοῦντες*, appointed by the emperor acting as the client. Also referred to as *πρόκριτοι*, these were probably people of respect from various districts of the city, the *boni homines*, who are sporadically mentioned on other occasions as well.<sup>48</sup>

At least in the early Palaiologan era, before the capital had been largely cut off from its surroundings, external building craftsmen appear also to have been employed for construction projects and building work in the city. When the scholar and monk Maximos Planoudes spent some time in the Five Saints' monastery on Mount Auxentios and headed the community of monks there, he wrote a letter to an unnamed *megas papias*, requesting that the son of a respected brother of advanced years who had been brought in, presumably to Constantinople, on the instructions of the addressee for certain work (σοῦ κελεύοντος ἔργου) be released for urgently necessary restoration work in the monastery. In Planoudes' opinion, this was more important than moving rocks elsewhere, especially as myriads

<sup>48</sup> Anonymous encomium on emperor John Palaiologos, ed. Sp. Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά* III (Athens, 1926), 298; German translation in Makris, *Studien*, 289 f.

of people had been mobilized for that other work. That the young craftsman probably had been deployed in the nearby capital emerges from the fact that the addressee was requested or invited to visit the monastery on his way to or from Constantinople—evidently in order to see for himself the urgency of the work described by Planoudes.<sup>49</sup>

One serious problem which further affected construction activity in late Byzantine Constantinople, and perhaps especially so at this time, was the procurement of building materials. Spolia were used often, and probably even predominantly, in both the public and private sector. Many cases have been substantiated of construction work carried out with material taken not from ruins but from buildings that were still intact and in use, which were sacrificed either voluntarily or compulsorily to make way for new buildings. This is evident in the accusation levelled by Gregoras that the architects and leaders of the fleet in the spring of 1348 set upon the city's inhabitants, especially the defenceless widows and orphans, worse than any enemy in their search for planks of wood and tow to line and seal the hulls, sometimes destroying entire houses and taking away all the fittings which could be used as building material.<sup>50</sup> The historian Doukas reports a similar incident, relating that during the long Ottoman siege of 1394–1402 the μαγείρων παῖδες of the capital destroyed or carried off the superstructures of buildings (τοὺς ἐξαισίους οἴκους) in order to use the beams to stoke the ovens for the baking of urgently needed bread.<sup>51</sup>

However, whenever necessary and possible, building materials were also obtained from outside. Most of the wood used to build the fleet in 1348 was transported to Constantinople from the Strandza mountains on ox and mule (carts).<sup>52</sup> An anonymous encomium to the emperors Manuel II and John VIII also mentions the existence of large stands of trees/wood, suitable for constructing ships and buildings, in the surroundings of Constantinople.<sup>53</sup> On the other hand, at about the same time, Joseph Bryennios indicates that there was a shortage of wood which impeded the efforts of the capital's population to fortify the city.<sup>54</sup> It is quite certain that there was always

<sup>49</sup> *Maximi Planudis epistulae*, ed. Leone, 31 (no. 24).

<sup>50</sup> Gregoras XVII.6: II, p. 863.

<sup>51</sup> Doukas XIII.7, ed. Bekker, 79.

<sup>52</sup> Kantakouzenos IV.11: III, p. 72.

<sup>53</sup> Isidore of Kiev, *Panegyrikos to Manuel II and John VIII*, ed. Lampros, *Παλαιολόγεια καὶ Πελοποννησιακά* III, 186.

<sup>54</sup> *Ἰωσήφ Μοναχοῦ τοῦ Βρυεννίου τὰ εὐρέθεντα*, ed. E. Boulgaris, II (Leipzig,

enough timber in the environs of Constantinople even shortly before the fall of the city; the problem was that of access to this natural material resource, which became increasingly difficult (if not downright impossible) as the city was cut off from the hinterland. In around 1440, when the Venetian merchant Giacomo Badoer, who then was residing in Constantinople, needed planks of wood to improve his rented flat, he had this building material brought by ship to the city on the Golden Horn and sold the surplus amount to the carpenter Zoane Chabiancha in Pera and to other interested parties, including certain individuals in Constantinople.<sup>55</sup>

To sum up, even construction in the capital of the late Byzantine Empire has a history. It is a history with surprisingly many facets, even though the period in question constitutes anything but a great chapter of Byzantine architecture or Byzantine engineering, with no breathtaking constructions to point to. Nevertheless, the everyday needs of a city like Constantinople and its population, workers, and defenders required permanent efforts on the part of a large group of people who were linked to the city's building stock in many different ways, and who tried to preserve and, within certain limits, also to renew it. For the population of Constantinople, the imperial capital was not only a home, a place of work, and a fortress, but a work of art too. The churches, palaces, walls, and ports of the city were one of the sources of the inhabitants' sense of identity and self-awareness, even though much of the city was in a rather lamentable and even acutely endangered state. But the construction workers of Constantinople profited little from the high regard in which the inhabitants held the city's buildings. Its architects remained largely unnamed; its craftsmen looked, and indeed were, impoverished.<sup>56</sup> Although they became involved in some of the political campaigns of the urban population, they never led them or played an outstanding part. They belonged all, or rather almost all, to the silent majority of city people, and the others, too, had little to say about them.

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1768), 279; new edition of the speech on the town fortifications by N. B. Thomadakes in *Ἐπετηρίς Ἐταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν* 36 (1968), 1–16, esp. 7.

<sup>55</sup> *Il libro dei conti di Giacomo Badoer (Costantinopoli 1436–1440)*, eds. U. Dorini and T. Bertelè (Rome, 1956), 140 f.

<sup>56</sup> Kantakouzenos I.56: I, p. 290.

## CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

# BUILDING ACTIVITY IN CONSTANTINOPLE UNDER ANDRONIKOS II: THE ROLE OF WOMEN PATRONS IN THE CONSTRUCTION AND RESTORATION OF MONASTERIES

Alice-Mary Talbot

After the Byzantines recovered Constantinople from the Latins in 1261 and the imperial court was restored to its original capital, it was readily apparent that they had returned to a city in disrepair. As a result of fires connected with the Crusader attacks of 1203 and 1204, much of the city lay in ruins;<sup>1</sup> furthermore, many of the buildings spared by fire had deteriorated through vandalism, neglect and/or abandonment. What must have been even more discouraging for the Byzantines as they began the process of rebuilding their city was that it was repeatedly afflicted by new natural and man-made disasters, such as the earthquakes of 1296, 1303 and 1323, and the fires of 1291, 1305 and 1320. It must have seemed sometimes that they took one step forward in the process of reconstruction, only to fall two steps backward.

In any case the reigns of the first two Palaiologan emperors, Michael VIII (r. 1261–1282) and Andronikos II (r. 1282–1328), witnessed a flurry of building activity in Constantinople, including the construction or restoration of a number of monuments which survive to this day; among the best known are the Chora church, the parekklesion of the Pammakaristos, and the south church of the Lips monastery. Thanks to a new book by Vassilios Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204–1328* (Wiesbaden, 1994), we now have access to an exhaustive and useful catalogue of all the textual documentation of restoration and new construction in the capital during the seventy-year period following the recovery of the capital. As I have argued elsewhere, Michael VIII had many concerns to distract him from a reconstruction program: the problems of severe depopulation

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<sup>1</sup> T. F. Madden, "The Fires of the Fourth Crusade in Constantinople, 1203–1204: A Damage Assessment," *BZ* 84–85 (1991–92), 72–93.



of the city, a schism in the Church following the Union of Lyons in 1274, and the threat of Angevin invasion. He therefore focused his energies on repairs to the most essential and highly visible monuments of the city, such as the fortification walls, the Blachernai palace and Hagia Sophia.<sup>2</sup>

As Kidonopoulos' catalogue demonstrates, during the first two decades following 1261 there was relatively little attention to the reconstruction of monasteries, under either imperial or aristocratic patronage. Only modest building activity connected with monasteries is recorded under Michael VIII, with two or three new monasteries and two restorations. Under Andronikos, on the other hand, ten monasteries were built from scratch and there were at least twenty-two renovations. Even taking into account the fact that Andronikos' reign was more than twice as long as his father's, the proportion of construction of religious institutions between 1282 and 1328 was far greater than between 1261 and 1282.

The emperor himself, who was noted for his piety, was personally involved primarily in projects involving repairs to churches, as at Hagia Sophia in 1317, where he hired experienced architects to build buttresses which successfully averted the threatened collapse of the building.<sup>3</sup> Andronikos also supported repair work in the church of St. Paul at the Eugenios Gate and at the church of the Holy Apostles,<sup>4</sup> but no major new monastic foundation is attributed to him.<sup>5</sup> It could perhaps be argued that Andronikos was not more lavish in his patronage due to a lack of funds; for Gregoras informs us that it was only after the death of his second wife, Irene of Montferrat, in 1317 that Andronikos was able to embark upon his restoration work in Hagia Sophia, using a portion of his wife's fortune.

Since she had a great deal of money, the emperor gave some of it to her children, and he spent the rest on the repair of the very great church of the Wisdom of God . . . [T]he emperor gave the architects many thousand gold coins out of the *despoina's* fortune . . . and rebuilt from the very foundations these buttresses which are <now> seen . . .<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> A.-M. Talbot, "The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII," *DOP* 47 (1993), 243-61.

<sup>3</sup> Gregoras, I, 273.

<sup>4</sup> Gregoras, I, 275.

<sup>5</sup> Prior to his sole reign (sometime between 1272 and 1283, according to Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 56-9), Andronikos built a monastery at the Nea Ekklesia to provide a residence for John of Herakleia, uncle of Gregoras.

<sup>6</sup> Gregoras, I, 273.

Another determining factor in Andronikos' inattention to major architectural projects may have been his distraction by internal and external events, such as the continuing Arsenite schism, the threat of the Turks and Catalans, and the civil war with his grandson during the 1320s. Gregoras comments, for example, that the emperor

intended to refurbish <Hagia Sophia> to an even greater extent <after 1317>, but the sudden dissension and confusion which came upon the empire like a hurricane [i.e., the rebellion of Andronikos III] curtailed such plans . . .<sup>7</sup>

Gregoras, who appears somewhat uneasy about his inability to describe and praise any new buildings sponsored by Andronikos, devotes a subsequent paragraph to a spirited defense of the emperor's preference for restoration over new construction. He first criticizes earlier imperial patrons as being motivated by an ambition which was perilously close to vainglory and conceit. He then continues:

But since this emperor Andronikos deemed it much more important to repair and brace up previously existing buildings, and to ward off with the appropriate assistance and zeal the perils which threatened as a result of the passage of time, than to allow these <old buildings> to fall into ruin, and to pride oneself on erecting other <buildings> from the foundations, he exerted all his efforts and ambition on this <first course of action, i.e., restoration>. For there is a certain malign influence which seems to insinuate itself, persuading <men> to allow the buildings constructed long ago to fall into ruin, so that as the memory of their builders flows away <into oblivion> and dies together with the buildings, the new structures remain, clearly articulating the memory of the one who established them . . .<sup>8</sup>

Despite the lack of leadership on the part of the emperor in the ongoing task of restoring the capital, the reign of Andronikos II was nonetheless an era in which sacred art and architecture flourished; in fact the half century of his rule saw a final burst of creativity in Constantinople, which was never again to be equalled.<sup>9</sup> It was primarily aristocratic patrons and members of the imperial family who were responsible for the splendid ecclesiastical structures which were

<sup>7</sup> Gregoras, I, 275.

<sup>8</sup> Gregoras, I, 274.

<sup>9</sup> For comments on the flourishing of architecture under Andronikos II, see R. Ousterhout, "Constantinople, Bithynia, and Regional Developments in Later Palaeologan Architecture," in *The Twilight of Byzantium*, eds. S. Ćurčić and D. Mouriki (Princeton, 1991), 75–6.

built or restored during the last two decades of the thirteenth century and the early decades of the fourteenth; for despite the poverty of the state, there were still aristocratic families in Byzantium with considerable private fortunes. And in the Byzantine world view there could be no better use of one's wealth than for the construction of churches for the glory of God and the establishment of monasteries to house monks and nuns who would pray for the soul of the founder of their religious house.

When we focus on the restoration of old monasteries and construction of new ones between 1282 and 1328, several features are striking. One is the substantial number of female convents in the group, another is the role of female patrons.<sup>10</sup> Of the ten *new* monasteries established under Andronikos II, five (i.e., 50 percent) were nunneries, and of the twenty-two *restored* religious houses six were female and two double monasteries.<sup>11</sup> When we look at the *ktetores* of these monasteries, nine of the twenty-two restored complexes had female patrons, and four of the ten new monasteries were founded by women. Finally it is noteworthy that four *typika* for Constantinopolitan convents are preserved from this period, contrasted with only two for male monasteries.<sup>12</sup>

Some of these patronesses are quite shadowy figures, known to us primarily from notes in manuscripts or the verses of Manuel Philes, such as Anna Komnene Raoulaina Strategopoulina,<sup>13</sup> who was possibly the daughter of Theodora Raoulaina, to whom we shall turn presently. Anna founded the nunnery of Christ Savior the Mighty (Κραταίος) in Constantinople,<sup>14</sup> took vows there as the nun Antonia, and donated manuscripts, sacred vessels and other treasures to her new monastic foundation.<sup>15</sup> Anna was evidently buried in the monas-

<sup>10</sup> For a similar phenomenon of female patronage in an earlier period, see the observations of Paul Magdalino in his paper in this volume.

<sup>11</sup> These figures are more impressive if one keeps in mind the normal preponderance of male religious houses in the empire and the relative paucity of nunneries; cf. A.-M. Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 30 (1985), 1-2, 18.

<sup>12</sup> See *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents* (hereafter *BMFD*), eds. J. Thomas and A. C. Hero (Washington, D.C., 2000), nos. 39, 40, 47 and 57 for the convents of Lips, Kosmas and Damian (Anargyroi), Philanthropos Soter and Bebaias Elpidos.

<sup>13</sup> *PLP*, no. 26893.

<sup>14</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 1.1.13, pp. 36-7.

<sup>15</sup> This evidence comes from a note in a manuscript now preserved on Mt. Athos, Pantokrator 6, f. 3<sup>v</sup>; cf. Sp. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mt. Athos*,

tic church, beneath the floor, and was commemorated by Manuel Philes in an epitaph.<sup>16</sup> Although there is no explicit evidence for the date of her foundation, it seems logical to conclude (with Kidonopoulos<sup>17</sup>) that she probably entered monastic life sometime after her husband, the *protostrator* Michael Strategopoulos, was imprisoned in 1293, or after his death in 1300.

Also known primarily from a poem of Philes is Eugenia Komnene Palaiologina, cousin of Andronikos II.<sup>18</sup> She is described as having reconstructed a nunnery after it was damaged by an earthquake (perhaps in 1296 or 1303) and as having embellished its church.<sup>19</sup> We know that by 1321 she was a nun,<sup>20</sup> so this provides a *terminus ante quem* for her restoration of the convent.

We have more information about other women *ktetores* of Constantinopolitan monasteries, and thus can understand better the nature of and motivation for their patronage. Going in rough chronological order, we should begin with Theodora Raoulaina (d. 1300), the niece of Michael VIII. After the death of her second husband, John Raoul Petraliphos, in 1274, the year of the Union of Lyons, Theodora began actively to oppose her uncle's religious policy and was exiled with her mother. When Michael VIII died in 1282, she was able to return to Constantinople where she was active in literary circles.<sup>21</sup>

Sometime between 1282 and 1289, Theodora restored the monastery of St. Andrew in Krisei (now Koca Mustafa Paşa Camii) as a nunnery, and embellished and enlarged its church.<sup>22</sup> Her primary motivation

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I (Cambridge, 1895), no. 1040, pp. 92–4, and A.-M. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," in *Okeanos: Essays Presented to Ihor Ševčenko on his Sixtieth Birthday by his Colleagues and Students* [= *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 7] (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 609–10. There is no reason to conclude, as does Kidonopoulos (*Bauten*, 36), that the convent had a scriptorium, nor that Anna copied the manuscript herself.

<sup>16</sup> *Manuelis Philae Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, II (Paris, 1857), 135–6 and note on 429 (hereafter *Philes, Carmina*, ed. Miller); *Manuelis Philae Carmina inedita*, ed. E. Martini (Naples, 1900), no. 78, p. 110.

<sup>17</sup> *Bauten*, 37.

<sup>18</sup> *PLP*, no. 21368; Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 52–3. Kidonopoulos states that she was married to the great domestic Syrgiannes, but refers to the *PLP* entry for Sytzigan (no. 27233), father of the *meḡas doux* Syrgiannes (no. 27167), so there seems to be some confusion here.

<sup>19</sup> Philes, *Carmina*, ed. Miller, I, 81–2.

<sup>20</sup> *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri quattuor*, ed. L. Schopen, I (Bonn, 1828), 109.

<sup>21</sup> On Raoulaina, see *PLP*, no. 10943.

<sup>22</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 1.1.3, pp. 9–10.

seems to have been to provide herself with a suitable place of monastic retirement, for she lived here as a nun for about fifteen years. Her patronage was commemorated by Maximos Planoudes in an eighteen-verse epigram.<sup>23</sup> Couched in the first person, as if written by Theodora, and addressed to St. Andrew, the poem may well have accompanied a donor's portrait in the church, depicting Raoulaina offering a model of the church to the saint whose relics were deposited there. As a staunch Arsenite, Theodora also arranged for the bones of the patriarch Arsenios to be temporarily moved from Hagia Sophia to the church of St. Andrew.<sup>24</sup> She was also a great supporter of Gregory II of Cyprus. In 1289, when he was forced to resign from his throne, she restored the small monastery of Aristine, near her nunnery, as a residence for the deposed patriarch until his death in 1291.<sup>25</sup>

Roughly contemporary with Theodora Raoulaina was Maria Palaiologina, illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII and thus a half-sister of Andronikos II. She was sent off to Persia in 1265, presumably as a young teenager, to marry the Mongol Ilkhanid khan Hulagu. She was escorted by a monk of the Pantokrator, and during the long overland journey was able to perform her religious devotions in a magnificent tent chapel made of silken fabric embroidered with images of the saints.<sup>26</sup> Since Hulagu died before her arrival, she ended up marrying his son Abaga.<sup>27</sup> Maria was able to maintain her Christian faith, and at some point during her residence among the Mongols she is known to have sponsored the construction of a church in northern Iraq.<sup>28</sup> Probably soon after her return to the capital in 1282, upon her husband's death, she decided to establish a nunnery, and for this purpose bought properties in the Phanar quarter from Maria Akropolitissa. For the substantial sum of 4,000 *hyperpera* she purchased a church (built in 1261 by George Akropolites' father-in-law), houses, a bath, gardens and vineyards. The houses she transformed into cells for thirty-three nuns, who were

<sup>23</sup> Sp. P. Lampros, "Ἐπιγράμματα Μαξίμου Πλανοῦδη," *NE* 13 (1916), 415-6.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. R. Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," in *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel [University of Birmingham Fourteenth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies] (London, 1981), 75 n. 56; Pachym., ed. Bekker, II, 85.19-86.9.

<sup>25</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 1.1.6, pp. 14-6.

<sup>26</sup> Pachym., ed. Failler, I, 235.

<sup>27</sup> Pachym., ed. Bekker, II, 611.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. R. G. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1987), 33 n. 98.

to be admitted without payment of any entrance fee. The new nunnery took the name of the Panagiotissa or “of the Mongols,” and its church still stands today.<sup>29</sup> We do not know whether Maria took up residence right away in the nunnery, or only later in life. She reappears in the historical sources in 1307 when she was sent by her half-brother Andronikos II to Nicaea on an embassy to promote an attack by the Ilkhanids on the Ottoman Turks.<sup>30</sup>

Most scholars have assumed that this Maria Palaiologina should be identified with the nun Melane, who is depicted in the Deesis mosaic in the south bay of the inner narthex of the church of the Chora; an inscription describes her as a member of the Palaiologan family and as “the lady of the Mongols.”<sup>31</sup> She is also presumed to be the same as Maria Komnene Palaiologina, “Queen of the East,” who donated to the Chora monastery golden textiles and an eleventh-century gospel book for which she had commissioned a deluxe binding. Inscribed in the manuscript is a poem, attributed to Manuel Philes,<sup>32</sup> in which she gives thanks to the Virgin of the Chora for the blessings she has bestowed upon her and for saving her from “innumerable dangers,” perhaps a reference to the perils of her travels to the land of the Ilkhanid khan.<sup>33</sup> A recent article by Natalia Teteriatnikov has rightly focused on the puzzle of the prominent

<sup>29</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, I.1.39, pp. 88–90.

<sup>30</sup> Pachym., ed. Bekker, II, 620–1, 637. The misinterpretation of this passage caused by the faulty Latin translation of the Bonn edition continues to confuse historians to this day; cf. S. Runciman, “The Ladies of the Mongols,” in *Εἰς μνήμην Κ. Ἀυμάντρον* (Athens, 1960), 46–53.

<sup>31</sup> E.g. P. Underwood, “Notes on the Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul: 1955–1956,” *DOP* 12 (1958), 286–7, esp. n. 50; idem, *The Kariye Djami*, I (New York, 1966), 45–7; I. Ševčenko, “Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of his Time,” in *The Kariye Djami*, IV (Princeton, 1975), 37 n. 141; N. Teteriatnikov, “The Place of the Nun Melania (the Lady of the Mongols) in the Deesis Program of the Inner Narthex of Chora, Constantinople,” *CahArch* 43 (1995), 165. Runciman (“The Ladies of the Mongols”) has laid out other possibilities, since at least four Byzantine princesses were married to Mongol khans. He himself, however, also leans towards equating Maria, the daughter of Michael VIII, with the nun Melane, the “lady of the Mongols.”

<sup>32</sup> The attribution to Philes was first made by Ihor Ševčenko in *The Kariye Djami*, IV, 37 n. 141.

<sup>33</sup> For the Greek text of the poem (first edited by P. N. Papageorgiou, *BZ* 3 [1894], 326–7) and an English translation, see L. F. Sherry, “The Poem of Maria Komnene Palaiologina to the Virgin and Mother of God, the Chorine,” *CahArch* 43 (1995), 181–2; see also C. Asdracha, “A Brief Commentary to the Verses of Supplication to the Virgin, dedicated to her by the Despoina of Mongoulion,” *CahArch* 43 (1995), 183–4.

position in the Chora mosaic of the Lady of the Mongols, who shares the panel with Isaac Komnenos, a well-known twelfth-century *ktetor* of the monastery. Teteriatnikov argues that Chora's fourteenth-century refounder, Theodore Metochites, gave Melane as a prior benefactress of the monastery (i.e., as donor of the gospel book and textiles) equal standing with Isaac Komnenos; she also hypothesizes that the iconographic program of the south bay reflects Melane's life history, and that this area may have in fact been intended as a possible burial space for Melane or was a place where she stood when she attended the liturgy at the Chora.<sup>34</sup> Robert Ousterhout, on the other hand, has suggested that Melane was commemorated as a *ktetor* along with Isaac Komnenos because of some "minor restoration of the thirteenth century <which> may have preceded the work by Metochites."<sup>35</sup> Yet a third possibility is that Melane made a major contribution toward the early fourteenth-century refurbishing of the church, that is, at the same time as Metochites. Since Maria Palaiologina served on a diplomatic mission in 1307, she may well have still been alive when the renovation and redecoration of Chora was underway between 1313 and 1320. In any case her commemoration in the Deesis mosaic must have reflected a more substantial donation than that of a gospel book and a few textiles.

We turn next to the dowager empress Theodora Palaiologina (d. 1303), who survived her husband Michael VIII for more than twenty years. During the last decade of her life, sometime between 1294 and 1301, she reactivated at least two monastic establishments in Constantinople, Lips and Hagioi Anargyroi.<sup>36</sup> Since *typika* survive for both these foundations, we are reasonably well informed about the extent of her interventions.

The larger of the two institutions, Lips, had originally been founded in the early tenth century. We do not know whether it housed monks or nuns during its first incarnation, nor do we know anything of its history until its restoration by Theodora. It seems safe to assume that the complex had been abandoned when she restored it to serve as an imperial nunnery for fifty religious; she added a second church of St. John the Baptist to the previously existing church, and con-

<sup>34</sup> Teteriatnikov, "The Nun Melania," 163–80.

<sup>35</sup> Ousterhout, *Kariye Camii*, 33.

<sup>36</sup> On Theodora, see *PLP*, no. 21380; A.-M. Talbot, "Empress Theodora Palaiologina, Wife of Michael VIII," *DOP* 46 (1992), 295–303.

structed a twelve-bed *xenon* for laywomen.<sup>37</sup> The term *xenon* is usually rendered as "hospital," but perhaps "nursing home" would be more apt, since an annual provision of food was made for the ailing women who clearly were being cared for on a long-term basis. Thus the nunnery had in part a charitable purpose. On the other hand, Theodora expected that some of her daughters and granddaughters would take the veil there, and made provision for them to enjoy special privileges such as personal attendants and meals in their private apartments. Theodora herself at some point took monastic vows as the nun Eugenia, but we do not know if she took this step on her deathbed, or actually resided at the convent for a while.

Theodora also intended that the new church of the Prodomos serve as a mausoleum for the Palaiologos family, a counterpart to the Komnenian burial church at the Pantokrator. Her daughter Anna had already been buried there by the time Theodora had the *typikon* drafted, and the dowager empress planned tombs in the church for herself and her beloved mother, Eudokia Angelina Doukaina. She also expected that her children and grandchildren and their spouses would find their final resting place in this church. Indeed her sons Andronikos II and Constantine were interred at Lips, as was her granddaughter-in-law, Irene of Brunswick. Conspicuously missing from the list of burials is Theodora's husband Michael VIII, who had been denied final Christian funerary rites in 1282 because of his role in the Union of the Churches in 1274, and was buried in Selymbria. One advantage, of course, to entombment in a monastic complex was that the deceased were assured of continuing prayers for their salvation and commemorative services by the nuns. As I have argued elsewhere, Theodora's patronage may also have been motivated by a desire to atone for her own sins of having acquiesced for a time to the Union of Lyons.<sup>38</sup>

Theodora's second foundation, the Hagioi Anargyroi or Kosmas and Damian (not to be confused with the more famous suburban sanctuary of the Kosmidion), was a smaller nunnery intended to hold thirty nuns.<sup>39</sup> We learn from the brief and fragmentary *typikon* for this

<sup>37</sup> On the convent, see Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 1.1.38, pp. 86-7. The Greek text of the *typikon* was edited by H. Delehaye in *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), 106-36; English translation by A.-M. Talbot in Thomas and Hero, *BMPFD*, 1254-86.

<sup>38</sup> Talbot, "Empress Theodora," 303.

<sup>39</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 1.1.1, pp. 1-4. The *typikon* is edited by Delehaye, *Deux typica*, 136-40; English translation in Thomas and Hero, *BMPFD*, 1287-94.



convent that it was built upon the ruins of a monastery founded sometime before 1204. By the late thirteenth century this monastic complex “was about to collapse,”<sup>40</sup> was “in ruins,”<sup>41</sup> and had lost its endowment since its properties had been dispersed during the Latin occupation. Theodora rebuilt the monastery, enclosed it with a secure wall, provided the necessary liturgical vessels and books, and generously endowed it with donations of property. Here, too, Theodora made provision for the nuns’ commemoration of her ancestors and descendants.

In both *typika* Theodora enumerates the income-producing properties she has donated for the maintenance of the convents; the inventory in the Lips *typikon* is particularly useful because in many cases it details the provenance of the donated estates.<sup>42</sup> Some had been given to Theodora by her son Andronikos, some were her own property, acquired by inheritance or purchase, others belonged to her mother. Yet other estates accrued to the convent through the bequest of a pious layman and the entrance gift of a nun. The revenues for the annual support of the *xenon*, 600 *nomismata*, all came from the properties given the dowager empress by her son Andronikos.

Yet a third patroness of the Palaiologan era named Theodora was Theodora Synadene, like Raoulaina a niece of Michael VIII.<sup>43</sup> She was married to the *mezas stratopedarches* John Angelos Doukas Synadenos, who died ca. 1290.<sup>44</sup> A few years later (ca. 1295–1300) Synadene founded the convent of the Theotokos of Sure Hope, Bebaias Elpidos, where she and her young daughter Euphrosyne took monastic vows. The convent, originally designed for thirty nuns, was later expanded to fifty.<sup>45</sup>

Theodora Synadene relates in the introduction to her *typikon* that she restored the convent out of her love of God and thanksgiving for the blessings of her life:

I decided to construct a holy dwelling for my all-pure lady the Mother of God, and in addition to build from the foundations a convent. It was to be a secure refuge for women who have chosen the ascetic

<sup>40</sup> Delchaye, *Deux typica*, 136.24.

<sup>41</sup> Delchaye, *Deux typica*, 137.17–18 and 20.

<sup>42</sup> Delchaye, *Deux typica*, 130–4.

<sup>43</sup> *PLP*, no. 21381.

<sup>44</sup> On Synadenos, see *PLP*, no. 27125.

<sup>45</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 1.1.33, pp. 69–74. The *typikon* was edited by H. Delchaye in *Deux typica*, 18–105; for English translation, see Thomas and Hero, *BMTD*, 1512–78.

way of life, and it was also for me and my dearly beloved and most true daughter, whom I consecrated not only from infancy, but almost from the moment of her very birth to the all-holy Virgin and Mother of God.<sup>46</sup>

In addition to providing a refuge for herself and her daughter, a prime purpose of the convent was the perpetual commemoration of and prayers for the salvation of the foundress and various members of her family. Synadene also made provision for the burial of a nephew in the convent.<sup>47</sup>

The convent provided charitable services on a modest level, distributing leftovers from the refectory to the poor on a daily basis. On the feastday of the Dormition of the Virgin and on anniversaries of the deaths of the foundress and her relatives, distributions of bread and wine were to be made at the convent gate.<sup>48</sup>

Although Synadene at one point refers to her deceased husband as a *ktetor* of the convent, it was her own ancestral property which provided the monastic endowment. Thus she gave the convent half of her ancestral estate called Pyrgos, retaining the other half for the maintenance of herself and her daughter in "modest comfort."<sup>49</sup> She also donated an ancestral vineyard at Pegai.<sup>50</sup> Other relatives made donations in exchange for commemorative services.

A few years after the restoration of the Bebaias Elpidos convent, yet another member of the extended Palaiologan family was responsible for the rebuilding of the monastery of Christ Philanthropos, located near the Mangana monastery and the sea walls.<sup>51</sup> This was Irene Choumnaina Palaiologina, daughter of Nikephoros Choumnos, who was briefly married as a young teenager to the despot John Palaiologos, son of Andronikos II and his second wife, Yolanda of Montferrat. Tragically widowed in 1307 at the age of sixteen, Irene decided to take the monastic habit as the nun Eulogia.<sup>52</sup> She gave

<sup>46</sup> Delehay, *Deux typica*, 22. The English translation is my own, from Thomas and Hero, *BMGD*, 1524.

<sup>47</sup> *Typikon* of Bebaias Elpidos, chap. 142, ed. Delehay, *Deux typica*, 94.1.

<sup>48</sup> *Typikon* of Bebaias Elpidos, chaps. 112, 115, 149, 150, ed. Delehay, *Deux typica*, 79–80, 81, 98–9.

<sup>49</sup> Delehay, *Deux typica*, chap. 121, p. 83.26.

<sup>50</sup> Delehay, *Deux typica*, chap. 123, p. 84.

<sup>51</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 1.1.12, pp. 33–6.

<sup>52</sup> On Irene-Eulogia, see A. C. Hero, "Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina, Abbess of the Convent of Philanthropos Soter in Constantinople," *BF* 9 (1985), 119–47.

away much of her fortune to the poor, and spent the rest on the rehabilitation of Christ Philanthropos. This was a double monastery, where Irene served as superior, and to which her parents eventually retired. The convent, which housed one hundred nuns, was the largest we know in Palaiologan Constantinople; there is no evidence as to the size of the male monastery.<sup>53</sup>

A church complex that still stands in Istanbul, the Pammakaristos or Fethiye Camii, recalls the patronage of yet another noblewoman, Maria Doukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina,<sup>54</sup> the wife of the *protostrator* Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotēs.<sup>55</sup> In the late thirteenth century Maria had collaborated with her husband in the restoration of the church of the Pammakaristos monastery, originally built in the twelfth century. Upon the death of the *protostrator* ca. 1305, Maria took the veil as the nun Martha, probably in the convent *tes Glabaines* which she is generally presumed to have founded.<sup>56</sup> She also established a funerary chapel annex to the Pammakaristos church as a mausoleum for her husband and other family members, and had it adorned with mosaics.<sup>57</sup> Her patronage is confirmed by a series of epigrams which she commissioned from Manuel Philes and had inscribed in prominent locations of the parekklesion.<sup>58</sup> Maria-Martha also further endowed a hospital which her husband had founded, and had an image of Christ installed on the ceiling.<sup>59</sup>

### Conclusion

To sum up our findings, the women who endowed monasteries during the reign of Andronikos II shared a number of common features. Most were related by blood or marriage to the imperial family:

<sup>53</sup> The fragmentary *typikon* was edited by Ph. Meyer, "Bruchstücke zweier τυπικά κτητορικά," *BZ* 4 (1895), 48–9. On the double monastery, see R. Trone, "A Constantinopolitan Double Monastery of the Fourteenth Century: The Philanthropic Saviour," *Byzantine Studies/Etudes byzantines* 10 (1983), 81–7.

<sup>54</sup> *PLP*, no. 27511.

<sup>55</sup> *PLP*, no. 27504.

<sup>56</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 1.1.16, pp. 41–2.

<sup>57</sup> Kidonopoulos, *Bauten*, 1.1.37, pp. 80–6.

<sup>58</sup> Discussed in the paper by Peter Schreiner in this volume. On these epigrams, see also H. Belting, C. Mango, D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1978), 16, 21; A.-M. Talbot, "Epigrams in Context: Metrical Inscriptions on Art and Architecture of the Palaiologan Era," *DOP* 53 (1999), 77–9.

<sup>59</sup> Philes, *Carmina*, ed. Miller, I, 280–2.

Theodora Palaiologina was Michael VIII's widow, Maria Palaiologina his illegitimate daughter, Theodora Synadene, Theodora Raoulaina and Anna Strategopoulina, his nieces, while Irene Choumnaina was daughter-in-law of Andronikos II. All these women founded or restored nunneries, in most cases for their own residence; certainly this is true for Theodora Raoulaina, Theodora Synadene, and Irene Choumnaina, and it may be the case for Maria (Glabaina) Tarchaneiotissa, Maria Palaiologina and Theodora Palaiologina as well. The convents they supported were sizeable establishments, with large numbers of nuns, impressive churches and substantial endowments. Perhaps the most significant factor is that almost all these women are known to have been widowed at the time of their patronage. This suggests not only that they were motivated to take this step to provide a monastic refuge for themselves, but that they were financially empowered by widowhood and thus had at this point in their lives the resources to construct or restore and endow a convent. One might also suggest that by transferring the bulk of their estates to a monastic institution they were relieved of tax burdens and also could turn over the management of their estates to a monastic steward.

Various motivations impelled these women to establish monastic complexes. Their construction of beautiful churches was an expression of thanksgiving to God who had granted them many blessings. The foundresses were driven by piety, the desire to promote their own salvation. They also sought to increase the number of convents in Constantinople so as to provide a refuge for other women who might seek the sanctuary of a nunnery. These patronesses were driven by charitable impulses as well to establish convent-affiliated hospitals and old-age homes, and to distribute food to the poor. Finally, they saw the monastic establishments they endowed as a means of providing for and commemorating their families, a sort of spiritual investment. Surviving *typika* emphasize that the new foundations might accommodate the foundress' daughters and granddaughters, provide burial space for male and female relatives and, most important, ensure the perpetual commemoration of family members through the prayers of the nuns.

How do these patterns compare with the patronage of male founders during the reign of Andronikos II? There are some differences to be sure, particularly the more varied backgrounds and life stages of male *ktetores*, in contrast to the virtually uniform widowed status of monastic patronesses. Among the *ktetores* we note two hieromonks and

one monk, two patriarchs, two sons of the emperor, wealthy imperial officials, and retired generals. Only occasionally is there sufficient information to ascertain the marital status of the laymen at the time of their foundations, but it is enough to determine that some of the patrons were married and very much living in the world (e.g. Constantine Palaiologos Porphyrogennetos, Nikephoros Choumnos, Angelos Sarantenos), while others were members of the clergy or monks.

On the whole, however, the motivations of male and female patrons were similar: monastic foundation was an act of piety and charity in thanksgiving for God's blessings; it provided a place of refuge or retirement for oneself or family members; it furnished a place of burial, and assured the commemoration of family members in perpetuity and prayers for the salvation of their souls. Thanks to the generosity of these men and women in building new monasteries and restoring those which had fallen into ruin, many Palaiologan churches survive in present-day Istanbul, to remind us of this final glorious period of architectural creativity in late Byzantine Constantinople.

Monasteries Established or Restored  
Under Female Patronage (1282–1328)

<i>Patroness</i>	<i>Name of Monastery</i>	<i>Dates of Patronage</i>	<i>Type of Monastery</i>	<i>Number of monks/nuns</i>	<i>Marital Status of Patroness</i>	<i>New Construction or Restoration</i>
Theodora Raoulaina, niece of Michael VIII	<i>mone tou Andreou en Krisei</i>	1282–1289	F	?	widow	restoration of convent
	<i>mone tes Aristines</i>	1289–1291	M	?	widow	restoration of <i>monydion</i> for Gregory II of Cyprus
Maria Palaiologina, lady of the Mongols, illegitimate daughter of Michael VIII	<i>mone tes Panagiotisses</i>	1280s	F	33 nuns	widow	restoration of church and construction of new cells
	<i>mone tes Choras</i>	1282–1320	M	?	widow	?
Theodora Palaiologina, wife of Michael VIII	<i>mone tes Libos (Lips)</i>	1282–1303	F	50 nuns	widow	restoration of convent; construction of S. church
	<i>mone ton Anargyron</i>	1282–1303	F	30 nuns	widow	restoration of convent
Theodora Synadene, niece of M. VIII	<i>mone tes Bebaias Elpidos</i>	ca. 1295–1300	F	30–50 nuns	widow	new foundation
Irene/Eulogia Choumnaina	<i>mone tou Soteris Philanthropou</i>	1307–1327	double	100 nuns	widow	restoration
Maria/Martha Glabaina	<i>mone tes Glabaines</i>	ca. 1305–1321	F	?	widow	new
	<i>mone tes Pammakaristou</i>	ca. 1305–1321	M	?	widow	construction of <i>parekklesion</i>
Anna/Antonia Strategopoulina, <i>protostratorissa</i>	<i>mone tou Krataiou</i>	1283–1314	F	?	?	new
Eugenia Komnene Palaiologina, niece of M. VIII	<i>mone tes megales domestikisses</i>	1296–1321	F	?	?	restoration
mother of Syrgiannina	<i>mone tes megales doukaines</i>	ca. 1275–1300	F	?	?	new foundation
unknown patroness	<i>mone tou Myrelaiou</i>	ca. 1300	M	?	?	?



CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO  
CONCLUDING REMARKS

Ihor Ševčenko

Discounting the opening speeches, twenty-two papers have been delivered at our conference. If I devoted but one minute to each of them, and three to the briefest of thanks due the organizers and their sponsors, I would have to speak for twenty-five minutes, more than you want to spend with me in these closing moments of our gathering. There exists a way out of this predicament, however. The speakers themselves can point to their Abstracts, superior to anything I could say by way of summing up their papers. As for expression of thanks, four American guests of administrative prominence already took this task upon themselves at the beginning of their respective papers. The only addition I shall make here will be to express our thanks to Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık A. Ş. for its generous sponsorship of the conference.

So much by way of explanation why, rather than to proceed in the recapitulatory mode, I shall use the typological mode and divide the papers we have heard in the last four days into eight categories. The first of them is the Big Picture category. Here belonged papers by Michel Balard, David Jacoby, and Sema Alpaslan. The second I have called the Descriptive and Informative category. It comprised papers by Albrecht Berger, Metin and Zeynep Ahunbay, Ioli Kalavrezou,<sup>1</sup> and Yıldız Ötüken. The third category is the opposite of the second and might be labeled Speculative, as its papers dealt with the no longer extant monuments or ground features of Constantinople. The three distinguished papers in this class were those by Paul Magdalino and by the masters of the trade, Cyril and Marlia Mango. In between the Descriptive and Speculative categories, I put the Interpretative one. This fourth class included papers by Engin Akyürek (who explained ritual in the light of both liturgical texts and pictorial representations), Henry Maguire, and Robert Ousterhout.

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<sup>1</sup> One of the two papers missing from this volume. (E.N.)



The single courageous representative of the fifth, the Theoretical-Revisionist, category was Cecil L. Striker. The Gender History class, the sixth one, included papers by Angeliki Laiou and Alice-Mary Talbot. Next came the Puzzle Solving category, the seventh by my count, within which should be ranged the contributions of Jonathan Bardill,<sup>2</sup> Michel Kaplan, Klaus-Peter Matschke, and Nicolaş Oikonomides, each of them proposing precise and in principle verifiable solutions, even if by the nature of things they had to rest on fragmentary data. Our list closes with the category of New Materials, whether archaeological or manuscript. Although I have put this eighth category at the end, I am partial to it and warmly welcome the papers by Mehmet İ. Tunay and Peter Schreiner.

Diverse as our conference's papers may have been, they shared one thing in common: the use of modern tools of research and of modern approaches, be it applications of sociology and demography or of cultural anthropology—the latter application being used in Gender History. On the other hand, none of the eight categories just mentioned appeared in their pure state. Thus, one Big Picture paper, by M. Balard, addressed the general question of acculturation and assimilation in a formerly colonial society, but did it by means of the particular example of the Genoese colony, both in Constantinople and in Ottoman Istanbul, and its dissolution in the sea of old and new humanity that came to surround and ultimately to dominate it. Another Big Picture paper, by D. Jacoby, tended towards revisionism by telling us that the economy of Constantinople between 1204 and 1261 was not as bad as had been hitherto assumed.

Nor did Descriptive papers shun interpretation—thus I. Kalavrezou highlighted the function the relic of the rod of Moses played in imperial ideology and reminded us of the ideological role of imperial processions in the city. The Speculative papers on topography heavily relied on prosopography, or on comparative material extant elsewhere. The use of prosopography in one Speculative paper was relevant to Gender History as well—thus P. Magdalino studied properties owned in the city by aristocratic ladies with imperial connections, while these ladies themselves lived outside of Constantinople. And one Puzzle Solving paper that dealt with the seventh-eighth centuries adduced comparisons from the nineteenth. One Gender History paper

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<sup>2</sup> The second of the two papers missing from this volume. (E.N.)

drew its picture against the background of ideology: A. Laiou reminded us of the simplified formula of Marxist analysis, according to which ideology is but a lie, and described how chains imposed by ideology weighed heavier upon upper class than lower class women. By the nature of her subject, A.-M. Talbot focused on rich widows of the thirteenth to the fourteenth centuries and found that some of them were important patronesses of religious establishments. Here, parallels from the fourth century come easily to mind: the independently wealthy traveler Egeria and the two ladies—mother and daughter—who provided St. Jerome with long-term fellowships.

Both we the participants and you the audience realize that ours has been an important conference. This realization is valid in the first place on account of its scholarly results; for this we must thank our talented Nevra Necipoğlu who managed to mobilize the best people working on Byzantine Constantinople and to convince them that they should bring their best intellectual offerings here. The degree of importance of gatherings such as ours, however, depends on their temporal and social contexts as well—on the spirit of the times during which they happen to be held. Subjectively—and justly—we foreign Byzantinists and you, our Turkish Byzantinist hosts, view the conference's timing to be the result of the work of the superb team at Boğaziçi University—both of N. Necipoğlu and of the members of the administration who supported her. In objective terms, however, I have the feeling—and I hope I am not wrong—that some elites in today's Istanbul, a city of ten million, are beginning to perceive Byzantium no longer as a threat and an embodiment of alien culture, but as a part of the past of their own Turkish territory. To the friendly outsider it seems that Byzantium is being incorporated into many a Turkish intellectual's historical landscape. To cite an imperfect parallel, American Indians with their artifacts, rituals and burial customs are being incorporated into the analogous mental landscape of many members of today's American intelligentsia, partial to multiculturalism. It would be a welcome development, if in Turkey Byzantium began to evoke the same curiosity and perhaps empathy, and its extant traces, enjoy the same kind of care.

A further reason for claiming that our conference has been an important event is the presence of so many young students among the audience. And this brings me to the subject of the future.

The research presented in our papers was focused on Istanbul, and Istanbul will provide such a focus for a considerable time to

come, for the city still conceals treasures to be uncovered. What comes first to mind, of course, are treasures buried in the ground. M. İ. Tunay's paper listing the seventeen new sites that came to light in the course of the last ten years gave us an inkling of what may still be waiting to be revealed. When I asked some colleagues assembled here about the more or less realistic possibilities of further excavations in Istanbul, they came up with such sites as the north side of Ayasofya (where the Baptistery and the Skeuophylakion were located), the Hippodrome (true, already looked into on previous occasions), the neighborhood of the Zeyrek Camii, and the Blachernai.

But there exist other "unexcavated" (read: unexploited) areas, whether in manuscripts, or in print. Our conference, excellent as it was, did not explore Constantinople's intellectual life, or the city's image as it was seen by Byzantine elites. Here the genre of *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* deserves to be revisited, and—if I may be allowed to make a pitch for the man who was the subject of my youthful interest—the most extensive single surviving praise of Constantinople, the *Byzantios* by Theodore Metochites, about sixty folia long, cries to be published from its Vienna manuscript. True, Metochites ran at the mouth, but he was capable of making interesting geopolitical remarks on Constantinople's debt to the sea, for according to him the sea brought about the unity of the world, and most of the arts came from it; and his comparisons of the city with Babylon, Alexandria, Antioch and Rome—comparisons in which the multinational Constantinople predictably won out—still wait for their commentator.

Still, the time can be imagined when all the practically accessible Byzantine sites on Turkish territory will have been excavated, and the relevant manuscripts of the Byzantine period, published. It is at that point that scholars will turn with a special vigor to the study of Byzantium's survival and reception by investigating post-Byzantine sources that shed light on Byzantium itself and on its posthumous image. Greek and Western post-Byzantine sources will be explored, and P. Schreiner's paper on the *Antiquitates Constantinopolitanae* collected by the post-Byzantine Malaxos brothers was an important case in point.

There is more, however. It is precisely in the post-Byzantine field that vast perspectives will open before Turkish and foreign Ottomanists able to exploit local documents in order to reconstruct the city's final Byzantine years and to pursue the study of its transitional period. It is to be hoped that these scholars will reduce the area of archaeo-

logical speculation by discovering Ottoman information on the topography of the city. Soon, a young generation of Turkish scholars may come to occupy the first rank in the study of one aspect of *Byzance après Byzance*. The time to prepare for the task is now, and the means will be to re-learn to read Ottoman documents as well as to learn Greek. Again, in this context, it is a joy to see so many young faces in this hall. Thank you very much.



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*French and German names have been anglicized for this index. Page references to illustrations appear in boldface.*

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